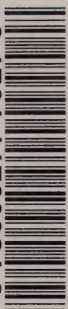


CA1  
SS31  
-78E71

3 1761 11709981 2




# Ethnicity and Canadian Citizenship

A Metropolitan Study



Secretary  
of State

Secrétariat  
d'État



Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2023 with funding from  
University of Toronto

<https://archive.org/details/31761117099812>



CAI  
SS 31  
- 7827

Ethnicity and Canadian Citizenship

A Metropolitan Study

David C. Neice  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Sociology  
Queen's University  
Kingston, Ontario



Citizenship Registration Branch  
Department of the Secretary of State  
January 1978





## Contents

Acknowledgements	xii
Preface	xiii
Summary of Research	xv
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Setting	1
1.2 Sociological perspective	3
1.3 Approaches to the problem	5
1.4 Selected literature on citizenship	6
1.5 Theoretical outline	11
1.6 Data sources for the analysis	20
2 DEMOGRAPHY OF CITIZENSHIP	24
2.1 Introduction	24
2.2 Regional variation in citizenship and birthplace	24
2.3 Composite data	39
2.4 Historical trends	46
2.5 Summary evidence	48
3 PUBLIC USE SAMPLE ANALYSIS	51
3.1 Introduction	51
3.2 Accuracy of sample estimates	54
3.3 Basic distributions	55
3.4 Correlates of citizenship	60
3.41 Period of immigration	63
3.42 Personal attributes	64
3.43 Literacy level	69

3.44	Census socioeconomic status gradients	71
3.5	Implications	77
4	TORONTO SURVEY	78
4.1	Introduction to survey analysis	78
4.2	Basic characteristics of the sample	79
4.3	Experiences with the citizenship process	84
4.31	Those with papers	84
4.32	Those being processed	86
4.33	Potential citizens	87
4.34	Citizenship stream images	92
4.4	Citizenship knowledge base	94
4.41	Procedural knowledge	94
4.42	Legal status distinctions	98
4.5	Affective components of nationality	102
4.51	Behavioural indicators	102
4.52	Attitudinal indicators	106
4.6	Dimensions of political culture	109
4.61	Political efficacy	109
4.62	Bureaucratic efficacy	114
4.7	Structural and trait characteristics	116
4.71	Marriage and the spouse	116
4.72	Language skills	118
4.73	Survey socioeconomic status indicators	120
4.8	Community influence	125
4.81	Neighbourhoods and sponsor networks	125
4.82	Social integration	127
4.83	Ethnic community opinion and leadership	130
4.9	Status congruence	135
4.91	Perceptions of the immigrant-citizen gap	135
4.92	The gap and future intentions	142

## 5 CONCLUSIONS

5.1	Patterns in the evidence	144
5.2	Speculations on the stimulation of citizenship	147

### Figures

1	Two status gaps for immigrants in Canadian society	15
2	Ethnic or immigrant community - individual linkage process	21

### Tables

1	Percentage distribution of the Canadian population by country of citizenship for the provinces, 1971	26
2	Percentage distribution of the Canadian population by country of birth for the provinces, 1971	27
3	Population by country of citizenship for Canada and Ontario, 1971, Ontario as a percentage proportion of Canada	29
4	Population by birthplace for Canada and Ontario, 1971, Ontario as a percentage proportion of Canada	31
5	Numerical and percentage distribution of citizens of other countries for Canada and selected provinces by urban and rural, 1971	34
6	Numerical and percentage distribution of citizens of other countries in Toronto and Montreal, 1971	35
7	Composite table using published census data and public use sample data showing numerical and percentage distribution of birthplace for Toronto and Montreal CMAs, 1971	37
8	Raw percentage index of foreign born with foreign citizenship for various countries for Canada and Ontario, 1971	41
9	Raw percentage index of foreign born with foreign citizenship for various countries for Toronto and Montreal CMAs, 1971	45



10	Percentage distribution of the population by birthplace, Canada, 1921-1971	47
11	Percentage distribution of the population by country of citizenship, Canada, 1921-1971	47
12	Summary table for specific country groups with raw percentage index of foreign born with foreign citizenship for Canada, Ontario, and Toronto CMA, 1971	50
13	Public use sample birthplace for selected countries, total counts, Toronto and Montreal CMAs, 1971	53
14	Estimates of public use sample error using birthplace for Toronto and Montreal CMAs for selected countries, 1971	55
15	Corrected public use sample birthplace for target groups by citizenship status, all ages and periods of immigration, Toronto and Montreal CMAs, 1971	57
16	Percentage of Canadian citizens and foreign citizens controlling for age, all periods of immigration, for target nationality groups, Toronto CMA, 1971	59
17	Adult (21 and over) proportion with five year residency showing Canadian citizens and foreign citizens for target nationality groups, Toronto CMA, 1971	61
18	Citizenship status by period of immigration for adults with five year residency in target groups, Toronto CMA, 1971 in percent	62
19	Citizenship status by sex for adults with five year residency in target groups, Toronto CMA, 1971 in percent	65
20	Citizenship status by marital status for adults with five year residency in target groups, Toronto CMA, 1971 in percent	66
21	Citizenship status by household relation for adults with five year residency in target groups, Toronto CMA, 1971 in percent	67
22	Citizenship status by age groups for adults with five year residency in target groups, Toronto CMA, 1971 in percent	68
23	Citizenship status by level of schooling for adults with five year residency in target groups, Toronto CMA, 1971 in percent	70

24	Citizenship status by language of the home for adults with five year residency in target groups, Toronto CMA, 1971 in percent	71
25	Citizenship status by official language skills for adults with five year residency in target groups, Toronto CMA, 1971 in percent	72
26	Citizenship status by labour force status for adults with five year residency in target groups Toronto CMA, 1971 in percent	72
27	Citizenship status by occupational status for adults with five year residency in target groups, Toronto CMA, 1971 in percent	74
28	Citizenship status by personal income level for adults with five year residency in target groups, Toronto CMA, 1971 in percent	75
29	Citizenship status by family income level for adults with five year residency in target groups, Toronto CMA, 1971 in percent	76
30	Sample cases by nationality of origin and citizenship status compared with public use sample data for 1971 in percent	81
31	Respondent characteristics (N = 644)	82
32	Household characteristics (N = 644)	83
33	Length of time suggested until registration for landed immigrants by group in percent	88
34	Group survey counts by source of Citizenship Registration Branch contact	93
35	Proportional rank order of cited procedural knowledge in percent	95
36	Cited procedural knowledge by group and citizenship status in percent	97
37	Proportional rank order of more perceived rights by group and citizenship status for the Toronto Survey in percent	99
38	Group proportions in percent for agree/disagree to the voting item	102
39	Migration age intervals by citizenship status in percent	103



40	Landed immigrant group proportions with intentions for return migration in percent	104
41	Group proportions citing another proposed nation as first choice for migration by citizenship status in percent	105
42	Group proportions for importance of national origins by citizenship status in percent	107
43	Group proportions agreeing with renunciation item by citizenship status in percent	107
44	Landed immigrant group proportions preferring original passport and foreign citizenship in percent	108
45	Group proportions for levels of political interest by citizenship status in percent	111
46	Group proportions for frequency of two types of political discussions by citizenship status in percent	112
47	Group proportions for self reported voting in three elections in percent	113
48	Groups rank ordered by proportions citing family contact with the Unemployment Insurance Commission and the Workmen's Compensation Board in percent	115
49	Group proportions agreeing to official attention item by citizenship status in percent	116
50	Group proportions with naturalized citizenship of spouse by citizenship status in percent	117
51	Group proportions for almost always daily use of mother tongue and English by citizenship status in percent	119
52	Group proportions where no difficulty and great difficulty was reported by the interviewer in English communication by citizenship status in percent	120
53	Group proportions for three reported family income levels collapsed by citizenship status in percent	121
54	Proportions for trichotomized Blishen occupational prestige score by citizenship status and by group in percent	123



55	Proportions for citizenship status for first Canadian job by present job using Blishen occupational prestige scores in percent	124
56	Group proportions indicating neighbourhood as either mostly ethnic or mostly mixed by citizenship status in percent	126
57	Group proportions indicating most close relatives are in Toronto area by citizenship status in percent	126
58	Group proportions with mostly ethnic group friends and high frequency use of community businesses by citizenship status in percent	128
59	Group proportions citing membership in community organisations by citizenship status in percent	129
60	Frequency of use of ethnic language press and ethnic language radio and TV broadcasting by citizenship status in percent	130
61	Group proportional responses to the community citizenship perception item in percent	131
62	Proportional rank order of various leaders encouraging naturalization and breakdowns by groups in percent	133
63	Proportional rank order of various leaders preferring landed status and breakdown by groups in percent	133
64	Group proportions agreeing to the political attention item by citizenship status in percent	134
65	Naturalized respondent perceptions of the immigrant-citizen status gap by group in percent	136
66	Naturalized respondent perceptions of the immigrant-citizen gap for other immigrants by group in percent	137
67	Landed immigrant respondent perceptions of the immigrant-citizen gap for themselves by group in percent	138
68	Rank order by total proportions of landed status disadvantages and group variations for those expressing many disadvantages in percent	140
69	Characterization of landed immigrant groups by status distinctions in integration	41

70	Personal immigrant-citizen status gap perception by period of time to possible registration in percent	142
71	Selected nationality groups (all generations) per total population of Metropolitan Toronto, in percent	150
72	Foreign born for selected nationality groups per the total population of Metropolitan Toronto, in percent	151
73	Expected distribution of first generation Great Britain, Portuguese, Greek and Italian immigrants in constructed sample strata	157
74	Expected sample takes by ethnic stratum and group	158
75	Project #184. Survey log form #1. Phase I: Household selections	163
76	Project #184. Survey log form #2. Phase II: Individual selections	163
77	Project #184. Citizenship status. Stratum by individuals completed and group type (raw counts)	165

## Appendices

1	Brief Sample Design Report	149
1	SURVEY POPULATION	149
1.1	Considerations	149
1.2	Population definition	151
1.3	Survey location	151
1.4	Target group selection	152
2	PROBABILITY SAMPLE DESIGN	153
2.1	Target and sampled subpopulations	153
2.2	Stratification	155
2.3	Sample allocation	157
2.4	Four-stage and two-phase sample selection procedure for respondents	159

3	SAMPLE PERFORMANCE	162
3.1	Sample field takes	162
3.2	Field completions	164
2	Questionnaire	166
	Bibliography	186



## Acknowledgements

When research such as this proceeds, many people become implicated. At my last count, over one hundred hands had been at work in one capacity or another over the course of the last two years on this project.

The Assistant Director of I.B.R., Freda Marsden, is singled out for special attention. Her credentials for moving research along are impeccable and I owe much of the encouragement to do this work to her dutiful attention.

The support and field staff of S.R.C. did a top notch job in generating a good data set, Karen Barker was the wizard typist who took my pretty scratchy material and gave it composure, and Peter Peshun and Bharat Patel were of great help in the early design stages. Thank-you one and all.

Professor Ray Breton at the University of Toronto has acted as a constant mentor and source of encouragement during this research and without his advice I would probably never have attempted to tender for the contract.

James Davis has argued that "applied" research is often more challenging intellectually than "pure" research. Since more precise questions are at stake, there are more definite standards of accomplishment and the failure to supply an answer is more apparent. I am indebted to the sponsor of this research, Dr. Jean James of the Department of the Secretary of State, for providing me with the opportunity and funds to research a precise question.

## Preface

In early December, 1975 the Citizenship Registration Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State distributed a research prospectus for a survey of a population of special interest to its program: landed immigrants who had fulfilled the residency requirements under citizenship legislation - at that time five years in Canada, but currently, since February 1977, three years, under the new legislation - and were prima facie eligible to apply for Canadian citizenship. In an analysis of citizenship applications in 1973-74 the mean number of years of residence in Canada before application was found to be 11.7. On the basis of national origin considerable variability appeared to exist in the rates at which different nationality groups were taking out Canadian citizenship. The Department of the Secretary of State was interested in an exploration of the apparent differences in propensity to naturalize among nationality groups comprising a significant proportion of the population eligible for citizenship.

In March 1976, a research contract was awarded to the Survey Research Centre of the Institute for Behavioural Research of York University, Toronto, Ontario, with the author designated as principal investigator. The study area had been underexamined, and discovery became, practically, a daily event.

The division of labour was roughly as follows. I designed the study, and the staff of the Survey Research Centre carried out the field work and data reduction portion of the Toronto survey under my general guidance. The analysis of the data and the responsibility for all the contents of this final report fell to me. The Centre is responsible for the inherent quality of the data used, and I am responsible for any defects in conceiving how the data should be gathered and interpreted.

I have chosen to present the results by unit of analysis, which telescope down from national level data to the Toronto Survey. The introductory chapter provides some idea of the general body of previous work and theoretical stance taken by the author. Chapter 2 places the issue of citizenship in a national context. Many special tables have been prepared to outline aggregate citizenship patterns. Chapter 3 focuses the demographic analysis at the metropolitan level by using a special Statistics Canada Census sample. Chapter 4 highlights the results of a Toronto Survey of Italians, Greeks, Portuguese and United Kingdom immigrants. Conclusions and summary recommendations for the possible future stimulation of citizenship in Canada follow in Chapter 5.

Originally there were five appendices on various technical aspects of the project in the report. These may be of some importance to the critical reader since the worth of research can often be weighed by first examining the appropriate appendix. Only two of these brief versions are now included in this report. The other three appendices can be examined in the final working research report available from the Department of the Secretary of State.



## Summary of Research

The propensity of certain immigrant groups to become naturalized Canadians varies considerably. This variation is enhanced in several regional and metropolitan settings. Particular variations are examined with census aggregate data. Some uniformities are revealed by treating separate nationality groups as members of either long- or short-term migration streams and as members of broader geophysical and political origins.

Detailed census analysis with four specific Metropolitan Toronto immigrant groups indicates that official language skills and socioeconomic status as indexed by personal income are the most notable predictors of naturalization.

A survey of 644 immigrants in Toronto examines the level of awareness of the process of naturalization and explores a series of correlates with citizenship status. Affect for the nationality of origin is not supported as a source of registration resistance. Exercise of political voice is a strong reinforcer for registration impetus. A theory of status gaps and congruence is tested. Status integration in one of two reference collectivities, the immigrant community or the majority Canadian society in part tailors the maintenance or displacement of foreign citizenship.

Four patterns of naturalization are devised for consideration. Some speculative avenues of registration encouragement for landed immigrants are also explored.



## 1 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Setting

Many immigrants who come to Canada choose to remain foreign citizens.<sup>1</sup> In 1971, according to census data, Canada had over 1.3 million residents who claimed citizenship<sup>2</sup> of a country other than Canada. This was 6.2% of the total population or roughly one person in every 18. At that time 3.3 million persons claimed foreign birthplaces. In sum, 42% of foreign-born persons in Canada for all ages and periods of immigration had not yet chosen Canadian citizenship.

The 'landed status campaign' of 1973, promoted by the Department of Manpower and Immigration, which encouraged persons who were in Canada illegally to register, and the steady immigration of the period 1971 to 1976 indicate that an intercensal report would show similar proportions.<sup>3</sup> This work attempts to fill some gaps in our knowledge about the current structure and process of citizenship for this nation.

<sup>1</sup> In this study, foreign/alien includes all persons not born in Canada; that is, all persons, after February 15, 1977, born outside of Canada of whom one parent, other than a parent who adopted the child, is a Canadian.

<sup>2</sup> The census country of citizenship question refers to the country to which the respondent owes allegiance and in which he has citizenship rights. [In the do-it-yourself 1971 Census questionnaire, the respondent freely chose a category.] There is no apparent reliability check.

<sup>3</sup> The citizenship variable is not part of the information gathered between the major census periods.

The focus for this research was derived from particular concerns of the Department of the Secretary of State about the underlying causes for the different mean rates at which some nationality groups undergo Canadian naturalization. Our task was to locate some of the sources that explain these rate differences.

The problem has several correlates. For individuals it involves matters of perception, attitudes and behaviors. For ethnic and immigrant communities and institutions it involves mechanisms of leadership and organizational influence. For immigrant collectivities it has a substrate in certain demographic imperatives such as structural allocation and group size. Our assessment of the process of naturalization addresses all these units of analysis to provide some broad perspective. As this report unfolds, analyses of individuals, their communities, and their respective collectivities are variously pursued.

Given the escalation of costs in recent years for survey research and the rarity of certain target groups for sampling, the cost of a complex design covering many groups of general interest was deemed prohibitive. An effort was directed to create a research strategy which was both analytically useful and reasonably inexpensive. For this reason we must stress that this is a study of selected groups and in all fairness it must be viewed as a limited attempt to unravel a diverse phenomenon.



## 1.2 Sociological perspective

What brings immigrant men and women to the decision to become naturalized? There are many ways of approaching this question. For instance, one could argue that individuals have basic reasons for such decisions. If we simply ask people why; they will supply us with a reason for their action. We can count up these reasons, some of which will be similar, and there is our answer. If this were a journalist's account we would proceed in that fashion. But a sociologist would argue that reasons given are often simply personal accounts or rationalizations to make our own actions acceptable to ourselves and our associates. They contain, no doubt, proportions of truth since individuals usually sincerely believe that their everyday explanations for their decisions are adequate. And as personal justifications they are indeed quite enough. But they supply much less explanatory power when individuals are pooled to form groups.

Psychologists, at least some of them, would hunt for answers in theories of motivation. Such motivations, it is argued, can be powerful dynamic forces, the product of early socialization and emergent personalities, or they may be personal decisions based on systems of belief held by individuals, or yet again, they may be simply reasons, supplied in the ways we have noted above. To explain behavior by motivation usually requires that the act be both consequential and symbolic. There is little doubt that naturalization is symbolic, there is more doubt about its consequences, at least when compared with actions such as violent crimes which are often examined

with motivational theory. Motivation as an explanation of behavior can be useful in the examination of particular individuals. Its utility begins to wane when we look at persons as members of broader societal groups.

Membership in groups, be they real life groups or analytic constructions, is the core of a sociological explanation. For this study, the population of interest has a diversity of group affiliations. They are immigrants, they have particular nationality origins, they are members of communities, of families, of social classes, of language groups, of geographic regions, of religions, of age groups, of sexes, of nations. In short, as Simmel (1955) would say, "the web of group affiliation" organizes the patterns of life chances and behaviors of individuals. The questions sociologists pose are deceptively simple. How does individual behavior influence group behavior, and vice versa, how does group behavior influence individual behavior? The explanation of action with reference to group membership is most important.

A sociological interpretation has particularly strong applicability for the study of naturalization. The original reason for this research emerged when it was noted that different nationality groups had established different mean rates of entry in the citizenship stream. This point as initially proposed, suggests that the differences are explainable by reference to an individual's affiliation with different nationality groups. That is, an immigrant group may contain collective properties which facilitate or retard entry into the citizenship stream. This is a determinist

position adhered to by sociologists wherein, we argue, reasons and motivation have little to do with behavior. The allocation of individuals into the group structure of a society tailors the latitudes within which behavior occurs. Sociologists argue that people act primarily on the basis of their positions in a society.

### 1.3 Approaches to the problem

There are many immigrant groups in Canada. If one were to attempt to examine all the patterns of citizenship, the diversity of the data would overwhelm the investigator. I have decided to analyze the problem from one reasonably cohesive theoretical stance, and with a limited number of immigrant target groups.

I have proceeded in this manner. We are attempting to explain the fact that different nationality groups are taking out citizenship at widely differing rates. I have taken note of the literature which pertains to this question. I then constructed a theory of differential status which I feel best explains the phenomenon.

To test the theory I have examined national level census data on all immigrant nationality groups to determine the nature of between group variations. This analysis has lead to a selection of four important groups for more detailed analysis: the Italians, the Portuguese, the Greeks and the immigrants from the United Kingdom. Detailed criteria for their particular selection was based on certain important sources of variation among these groups (see Chapter 2) and some specific



sampling criteria which had to be met (Appendix 1). These four groups are examined through two separate analyses. In Chapter 3 they are explored in tables generated from a file of user managed census data. In Chapter 4 they are treated as the elements of the population of interest for a Toronto survey of immigrants.

I have proceeded in this way to allow the sources of citizenship variation an opportunity to generate some useful comparative perspective. This has turned out to be a worthwhile exercise. In particular, one always has a clear idea of the dependent variable. It is somewhat unusual to have a research topic in which the dependent variable is so clear cut. That is, either one is or is not a Canadian citizen. Also groups have either high, medium, or low rates of entry into the citizenship stream. In this regard the research has aided my own thinking on the best ways to pose research questions. Questions built on rates seem to delineate problems more readily and to guide the final analysis.

#### 1.4 Selected literature on citizenship

Citizenship is not what one would term a highly researched area in Canada. Indeed, even at the international level of investigation there are not many sources. The majority of the research can be abbreviated into four streams.

The first stream could be called the vital statistic analysis. This research is mostly enumerative in nature. For many countries,

including Canada, the branch associated with registration of new citizens annually publishes a set of summary statistics based on the information processed from registration forms. This research provides a valuable monitoring function so that trends in registrations can be explored with an eye to sources of variation for different nationality groups. Some of this research data, particularly that generated in Canada, shows considerable detail. Cross-tabulations by such important variables as occupation and citizenship of spouse are made. The analytic flaw in these data, for my purposes, is simply that the data are not comparative. Those individuals tabulated have made a choice to register; but without a comparative group of those who choose not to register little inference about registration impetus can be attempted. For this reason we have not used any of these vital statistics for this report but have turned to other data sources. A second problem with these data is that they are exclusively descriptive. While analytic suggestions could be made about the data the compilation of these summary statistics are treated as simple facts. The author hesitates to suggest inferences based on established data about which previous inference has been scrupulously avoided.

A second area of research has been in the legal or social status of citizenship and its international comparability or variability. Some of this analysis has been strictly legal such as Parry (1960) or Wilson and Clute (1963) on the Commonwealth. Some has been historical such as Marshall's (1964) work on the relation between citizenship

status and class boundaries.<sup>1</sup> Another facet of this research has focused on international migration and the apparatus necessary to establish legal status for immigrants (Parai 1975; Hawkins 1972). Much of this work has been technical in nature. It describes the changes over time that have adjusted the scope of citizenship as a legal construct. Doubtless, the recent change in Canada's citizenship act will generate more interpretive analysis of this sort.

The third stream of research is a product of concerns of many political scientists with the quality or level of civic involvement within a nation state. The research stems in part from the concept of political culture (Almond and Verba 1963) in a society. In this research, citizenship is used in the broadest conceptual way to refer to an orientation of the individual to the political system. Such work as Pranger's (1968), Roseneau's (1974) and Thompson's (1970) follow this theme closely. Little of this kind of work has been pursued in Canada to date, although some more traditional political culture analysis in the general population has been done (Schindeler 1972).

The fourth stream of research has been concerned with the process of citizenship as an outcome or by-product of the forces of assimilation (Gordon 1964; Parsons 1965). As a demographic phenomenon in Canada,

<sup>1</sup>Citizenship as dealt with by Marshall differs from the process of naturalization even though the description of their goal state is similar. Classes have paths to citizenship which involve wresting civil, social, and political rights and freedoms away from elites. Individuals have paths to naturalization that obtain these rights after their establishment. The study of citizenship per se is primarily class based and historical while the process of naturalization focuses on the interface between an individual and a medieval town, a nation state, or perhaps in the future a multinational corporation.



Kalbach (1970) has attempted some recent interpretations. Richmond (1967, 1974) has treated the subject as a subtheme for his more general interpretation of immigrant adjustment in Canada. The Department of the Secretary of State also produced a document in 1971 which examined citizenship from essentially an assimilationist perspective.

Some attention is due this fourth stream of research since it is most specifically concerned with the Canadian context and problems. In 1969, Citizenship Registration Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State undertook a survey of applicants for citizenship for that year. Data was collected on questionnaires distributed to aliens (N = 2,124) and British subjects (N = 1,172) who were candidates for citizenship. The research explored a host of attitudes concerning the whole process of citizenship which the respondents had passed through. Much of the information was of considerable value but one of the core questions of the study, "Why do people become citizens?", remained largely unsolved.

The research was handicapped by two problems. The first was that the methodology did not provide a sample of non-citizens for comparative purposes. The second was that the researchers posited a theory of motivation to explain the paths to citizenship. Individuals were seen to come to citizenship because of economic or political motives: to get a job or to get the vote. We do not deny the relevance of these factors but we suggest an alternate explanation. We suggest that persons obtain citizenship not to get something they do not have, but rather to consolidate what they have become. The study (Secretary of State 1971) had to conclude that the most important motive to naturalize was

"personal decision" which was termed "a substitute for motivation".

The study indicates that persons became Canadians when they chose to, for no other apparent reason than that they felt they were now "Canadians". In many ways this parallels the "reason analysis" we outlined previously. It contains so much that is hidden that it only serves to whet our appetite.

Kalbach (1970), using macro-level aggregate analysis, has traced the differences relating to birthplace, ethnic origin, education, age, occupation, and region of Canadian residence to examine their covariation with the propensity for naturalization. This analysis only goes to the 1961 census data set, and we will extend some of these lines of reasoning using 1971 data in this study.

Richmond (1967) has argued persuasively (although from select data in a 1961 national survey) that an occupational dislocation accounts for considerable momentum to naturalize in Canada. According to his data, respondents who hold similar occupational status in both their country of origin and in this country have less propensity to naturalize than those who are either upwardly or downwardly mobile after migration.

Richmond (1974) has also commented on his use of a Metropolitan Toronto survey of ethnic groups where the foreign born males were analysed separately. Construction of an index of identification with Canada included naturalization or the commitment to naturalize as one determinant of a high scoring person. Length of residence was the single most important determinant of a high score on

commitment to Canada. Multicollinearity,<sup>1</sup> is undoubtedly responsible for this assertion and we wish the effects could be partialled. Still, Richmond's approach is valuable because he proposes a social-psychological explanation for the breaking of ties with the nationality of origin and the establishment of new connections before taking citizenship in Canada. Such considerations primarily rest on assumptions about the process of immigrant acculturation identification, and adult socialization. This theory, while useful, may be somewhat tangential to a sociological analysis of the paths to citizenship. In this regard, Richmond's occupational dislocation theory has far more analytic power.

### 1.5 Theoretical outline

If we stand back from the four streams of research just outlined we note that there are several common themes. The first, which we will just observe in passing, concerns the legal membership which binds individuals to nation states. Membership categories in this study are writ large to the level of legal legitimacy within a nation. Citizenship involves choices and commitments to maintain a certain allegiance, and fealty. Not in the sense of joining the PTA, but in the sense of an identification, both external and internal, with a nation of people who have particular social, political, and cultural values.

<sup>1</sup> Multicollinearity refers to the confounding of variables into a multiple causation process which defies causal ordering. Time variables such as age or residency exacerbate the confounding but are very difficult to control in survey research.



Being the citizen of a nation state is the most general form of membership in the present international context.

Within this membership context, the research on vital statistics for new citizens is primarily concerned with the attendance record for our nation. The second research stream dealt with the legal definitions of citizens and specifies the nature of inclusive and exclusive limits of membership. Also, any demographic examination for a nation of the distributed properties of citizenship traces the structure of membership for that country. Membership in social or nationality groupings implies rights and duties, responsibilities and obligations, and levels of freedom and control. Specific foreign groups may also regard a system as legitimate or illegitimate according to the ways its values line up or fit their own. In examining the demographic distribution of membership within nations, and in this nation in particular, we are primarily evaluating the relationship struck between individuals and nation states.

A second theme concerns immigrant assimilation and immigrant political participation in the nation of reception. Previous work of this genre often treats immigrants as members of ethnic community reference groups (Glazer and Moynihan 1963). We must speculate on whether the maintenance of non-Canadian citizenship status helps to define the boundaries of ethnic inclusion within the ethnic community. The problem is to determine if ethnic distinctiveness can be maintained in the face of encouragement to register as a Canadian citizen. This nation has an official policy of receptive multiculturalism but occasionally experiences sentimental notes of surging chauvinism. The juxtaposition and contrast of these two national elements, dis-

tinctiveness (foreign citizenship) and conformity (naturalization) are typical by-products of the Canadian problématique.

The maintenance of immigrant cultural pluralism and the forces of assimilation are dealt with in brevity through the third stream outlined earlier dealing with the civic or citizens orientation to the receiving nation state. There is a general notion, which has emerged from some literature on the relation between ethnicity and political culture (Novack 1972; Glazer and Moynihan 1963), that immigrants and their generational offspring become embedded and structurally assimilated into receiving societies as their political efficacy and collective voice is more strategically exercised. Political voice in a liberal democracy normally occurs through exercise of the franchise, one of the main ingredients of citizenship rights.

The fourth stream of research dealing with assimilation also contributes to this debate. Of particular note is Richmond's (1974) delineation of various modes of immigrant adaptations to the Canadian society. Three of the modes, urban villagers, Anglo-Canadian conformists, and pluralistically integrated immigrants, have varying responses to the maintenance of ethnic community inclusion, and have particular responses to the issue of naturalization.

The third and final theme in the four streams of research, and the pin that binds them together, is the theoretical nature of status relations. This theme will be used almost exclusively in this report when recourse to theory is necessary. Essentially we are examining the classical distinction between ascribed and achieved status. Citizenship by birth is ascriptive and that gained through the process of migration is

achieved. Along the ascription-achievement dimension several issues emerge which are part of status theory. Of primary importance in this work are: (a) the perception and symbolism of status categories and their rank ordering, (b) status discrepancies and inconsistency, (c) status crystallization, and (d) the presence of status gaps between formally defined, that is legally defined, categories and the informal definitions or everyday notions they acquire.

The use of status concepts appears in all the research streams referred to previously. Formal or legal status is the basis for an individual's membership in a nation state. Formal or legal status allows us to count new members, and establishes the definitional criteria that must be met for inclusion. Similarly, community status is a property of definition for the immigrant and the ethnic community. Community status is also a way of delineating the relative prestige of whole communities and the value of belonging to them. In addition, individual status delineates the nature of individual assimilation, or the degree of involvement for individuals in a society. In short, individual status is a rank order measure of the penetration of individuals and groups into social spheres and social relations.

We propose that the rate of naturalization for immigrants relates to perceived differential status gaps. On the one hand, the formal status gap as defined legally by rights and duties between the categories landed immigrant, and naturalized Canadian is at present minimal. On the other hand, the informal status gap as defined by the informal distinctions brought to bear on the categories immigrant and Canadian by primary, and secondary reference groups, is quite large.

The formal status gap is defined as all the legal rights and privileges, and all the legal and bureaucratically defined restrictions which distinguish the discrete formal categories landed immigrant, and naturalized Canadian citizen. The informal status gap is defined as all the supposed rights and privileges, and all the informally defined restrictions which separate the everyday categories immigrant and Canadian citizen. The informal gap is a social construction. The nature of the formal gap depends on the Citizenship Act.

We could conceive of these two status gaps in the following way by line diagrams (Figure 1 and Figure 2).

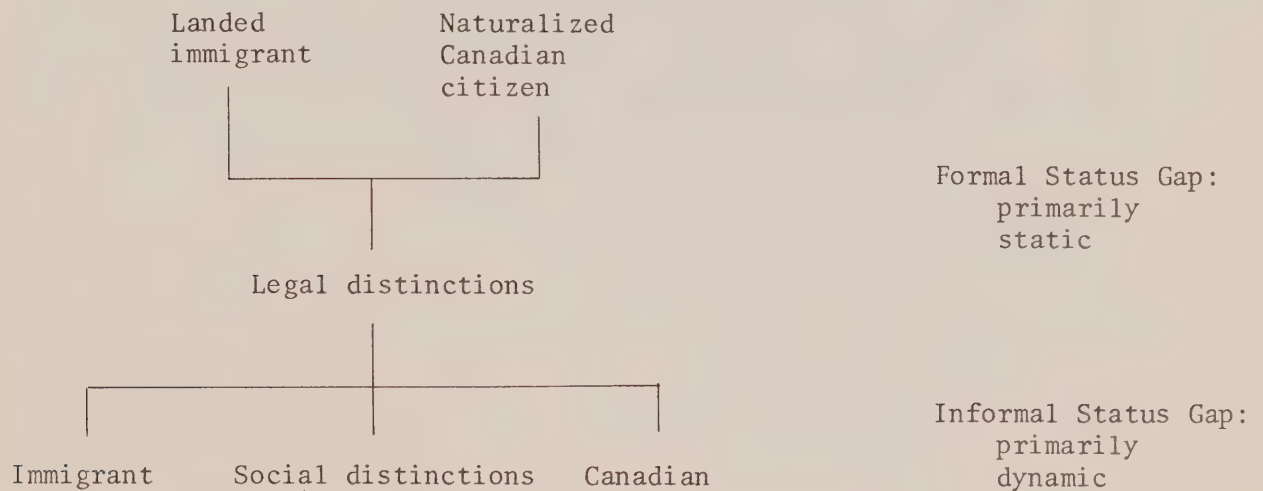


Figure 1 Two status gaps for immigrants in Canadian society

In more formal terms we would argue that:

The process of naturalization occurs for individuals who occupy social positions which reduce the distinctions of the informal status gap and promote closure of the small formal status gap. Remaining a landed immigrant occurs for individuals who



occupy social positions which reinforce the distinctions of the informal status gap and inhibit a closure of the small formal status gap.

For any particular individual or immigrant group the formal gap remains the same both within and between groups and classes. Changes in it come only through alteration in the Canadian Citizenship Act and other acts which refer to the Citizenship Act. These changes occur infrequently. The informal gap, however, is elastic for individuals and for groups and classes and may alter over time. A wide range of variables can act to increase or reduce the informal gap. We postulate that the size of the informal gap and the individual's perception of status distinctions leads to certain decisions about naturalization. It is hypothesized that the smaller the informal gap and status discrepancy that exists the greater the individual potential for naturalization. It is suggested that informal gap perception acts as the principal intervening or explanatory variable between other independent variables and the rate of naturalization. The formal gap we emphasize does not actually change except by law, but the informal gap is a social product and therefore a completely dynamic property.

This conceptualization does not rest without antecedent. The following literature is briefly referred to here as supportive of the possible development of a theory of differential status gaps.

Status is a phenomenon of social organization. This research refers both to the traditional use of status as a category where rights and duties are fixed by law and to "status in the Linton

(1936) sense" as relative positions in a social hierarchy. E.C. Hughes (1945) has pointed to certain dilemmas and contradictions which occur about status. It is suggested that in a society there may emerge along with a particular status a number of auxiliary characteristics expected of its incumbents. Physicians may be expected to be Anglo Saxon, professors should be males, etc. Sometimes these expectations are violated and the contradictions which result must be solved. Social segregation often aids in the solution of these dilemmas so ethnic professionals may serve their own ethnic community and female instructors may be hired to teach special women's courses.

We suggest that a growth of auxiliary characteristics also occurs around the status landed immigrant and the status Canadian citizen. One example may be official language facility for citizens and another may be type of occupation for both immigrants and citizens. If an incumbent to the status citizen does not match these auxiliary characteristics, contradictions will emerge. Similarly, if an individual perfectly matches the auxiliary characteristics of the status landed immigrant, naturalization is unlikely. We would argue that when the characteristics of an immigrant are perceived as more closely matching the auxiliary components of a citizen there will be a narrow informal status gap.

Lenski (1954, 1956) has in the past addressed the fusion of horizontal elements of status and labelled this status crystallization. Attention has not been focussed on how the process of crystallization may encourage incumbents to obtain fresh status positions to further broaden the process of crystallization. As the informal status gap

between the categories immigrant and Canadian decreases, individuals may enter a new status position (naturalized) in order to further crystallize a status set.

Homans (1961) and Malewski (1953) have referred to status congruence and incongruence. An incongruence of status indicates that an individual presents some contradictory stimuli to others. The elaboration of status consistency and inconsistency by Hartman (1974) is similar in approach. Much of this work appears to cover the same ground under different labels. Theoretically it seems that certain status categories can be congruent or incongruent, consistent or inconsistent of high or of low crystallization or some other appropriate set of terms. By directly examining a change in status categories and by an exploration of differential status gaps we wish to gain a clearer idea of the difference between the perception of legal status and the perception of hierarchical status.

Individual attitude variables are seen as of particular importance to a status gap theory. Outstanding among these are the perceptual considerations. For the immigrant citizenship can be expected to have both an historical component connection to native origin; and a learning component: knowledge about the Canadian system. The sources of this cognitive component have been examined for this study. In addition a veracity check has been performed on knowledge about citizenship for potential citizens. Citizenship can also, be expected to have an affective and an evaluative dimension. Indeed, the sum of cognition, affect and evaluation for the individual, we suggest, compose the informal gap and define its width at a given point in time.

But the knowledge, experience, affect, and evaluation of particular citizenship status categories and particular informal status categories do not just appear by themselves. They vary greatly with the attributes of individuals. This is the core of the analysis phrased by the fourth stream of earlier research done most notably by Richmond's analysis; that is, we hypothesize, the phenomenon of citizenship status is intercorrelated with age, sex, income, education, job and a host of other such individual attribute variables.

The reader may question the correlation of citizenship status with group properties, since such variables are individual attitudes, and attributes. The answer is that individuals are members of age, income, education, and occupational (etc.) classes or groups which may either be real or statistical poolings. It is their membership in such statistical classes or groups that often makes their behavior understandable.

A further component of group inclusion underlies this study; that is, the membership in ethnic or immigrant communities may also have status dimensions. On this basis a second process model is needed to delineate the relation of individuals to the community of membership and the way this community affects the decisions of individuals to naturalize.

Figure 2 is a loop diagram of the hypothetical process of naturalization for immigrant groups. This is an attempt to link community and society to the individual's decision-making process over citizenship. In the centre of the process model is the individual decision-making process. The sum of these decisions becomes the rate



of naturalization for groups. The consequence of integration through naturalization, we suggest, then feeds back to the perceived community-individual linkages.

The decision to naturalize is a personal decision. But these decisions by individuals are likely made when they evaluate their perceptions of the congruence of status attached to becoming a full citizen against remaining a landed immigrant. Their perceptions are heavily tailored by their individual structural location or positions in society and their membership in groups or classes. Further, their structural location is related to the location of their ethnic community of membership on a prestige order. Lastly, their ethnic community of membership has group properties (Figure 2) which may also influence individual perceptions and behaviors.

## 1.6 Data sources for the analysis

To try to test the theoretical argument we have just presented, three sources of data have been employed. Firstly, previously published census material has been heavily used. It was felt that while the terms of the study had been narrowed to the examination of the Italian, Portuguese, Greek and United Kingdom immigrants as case studies, some broader interpretation of citizenship in the national context was necessary. Using published census material, we have developed in Chapter 2 several arguments which require reference to all the different nationality groups available to us through census materials.

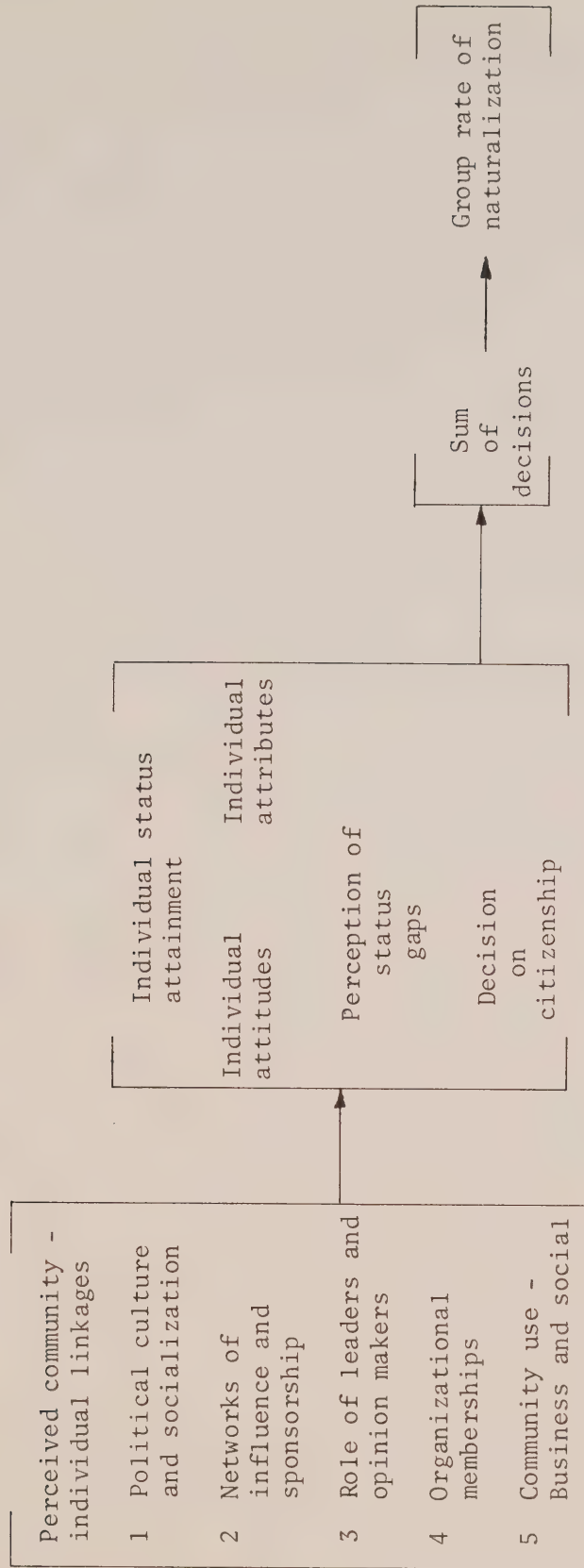


Figure 2 Ethnic or immigrant community - individual linkage process

Our second source of data is the special Statistics Canada Public Use Sample File of census data.<sup>1</sup> This is a one in one hundred sample of individual census records which can be managed by the user. We have employed these data where necessary to supplement the published census material in Chapter 2. The data itself were subjected to a separate analysis for the Census Metropolitan Area of Toronto using the four targeted groups. A number of important correlations emerged from this analysis as the reader will see in Chapter 3. My use of the Public Use Sample-Individual File has been considerable<sup>2</sup> and substantiation for the inferences drawn depends on the quality of the data and the sample procedure from Statistics Canada.

The third data source was obtained through a household survey of four immigrant groups in Metropolitan Toronto. This survey was designed specifically with the earlier theoretical orientation in mind to create a series of test conditions based on suggested hypotheses. There has been some overlap between the Public Use Sample analysis and the survey analysis, but the intention of the survey was to explore attitudes and behaviors which were unavailable from any other source. It is also a systematic data source which allows some precision of

<sup>1</sup> Extended reference to this source can be found in Appendix E of the final working research report.

<sup>2</sup> Some tables and inferences in this report are based on Public Use Sample Data derived from 1971 Canadian Census of Population supplied by Statistics Canada. The responsibility for the use and interpretation of these data is entirely that of the author.

inference. While this inference cannot have the confidence of a census source the use of surveys for estimates is quite well established.



## 2 DEMOGRAPHY OF CITIZENSHIP

### 2.1 Introduction

Demography as a branch of social science has traditionally been concerned with fertility and mortality in human populations. These have been the areas where population research has managed its highest levels of formalization. With the introduction of census statistics the scope of demography swelled to include a number of distinctive characteristics about national populations. These characteristics are now regularly collected and tabulated to provide general guidance to planners and decision makers in modern societies.

We are fortunate in this study that citizenship is a census variable. We have prepared an array of summary statistics from published census documents which gives us a glimpse of the dimensions of citizenship in national and historical context. The inclusion of the citizenship variable in the census gives us an opportunity to compare the gross absorption patterns of immigrants into Canadian society.

### 2.2 Regional variation in citizenship and birthplace

In 1971, there were 1,347,155 individuals who were residents of Canada and had citizenship of another country. These residents are

typically differentiated. A few may have been foreign government officials or executives of companies on work visas. Some may have been the foreign relatives of born Canadians who have established Canadian residency. Several may have been children who were born while their Canadian parents were abroad and they automatically became citizens of their birthplace. A very few may have been born Canadians but may now hold another country's citizenship. And a fair number were foreign students. These are a few of a host of possible contingencies, but all these cases are a tiny portion of the total pattern of foreign citizenship attributable to immigrants entering the country. We cannot accurately tell what the proportion of immigrants without citizenship is in relation to the total numbers of foreign citizens in the country. We have assumed the proportion is greater than 95%.

Not surprisingly, non-citizens are not evenly spread around the nation. Location of foreign citizens is directly related to the choice of locale by immigrants found in particular regions. Tables 1 and 2 can be quickly compared for the necessary evidence. Nationally, 6.2% of Canada's population had the citizenship of another country while 15.3% claimed birth outside Canada. In the Maritimes percentages in both tables are negligible. Coming west from Quebec there is a sudden increase in percentages which peaks in Ontario. Tapering occurs somewhat for the Prairies and percentages jump again in British Columbia. Provincially, we would expect the same ratios as appeared nationally. But this does not hold. For instance, in Quebec the percentage ratio is roughly 2 to 1; that is, for every two individuals born outside of Canada one of them is likely not a Canadian citizen. Saskatchewan

Table 1 Percentage distribution of the Canadian population  
by country of citizenship for the provinces, 1971

Province	Country of citizenship		
	Canada	Other	Total
Canada	93.8	6.2	100.0
(N = 21,568,310			
Newfoundland	99.1	0.9	100.0
Prince Edward Island	98.8	1.2	100.0
Nova Scotia	98.2	1.8	100.0
New Brunswick	98.7	1.3	100.0
Quebec	96.5	3.5	100.0
Ontario	90.1	9.9	100.0
Manitoba	95.6	4.4	100.0
Saskatchewan	97.9	2.1	100.0
Alberta	94.4	5.6	100.0
British Columbia	91.5	8.5	100.0
Yukon and Northwest Territories	95.7	4.3	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada  
Vol. 1, Part 3 (Bulletin 1.3-7)

Table 2 Percentage distribution of the Canadian population  
by country of birth for the provinces, 1971

Province	Country of birth		
	Canada native born	Other foreign born	Total
Canada (N = 21,568,310)	84.7	15.3	100.0
Newfoundland	98.3	1.7	100.0
Prince Edward Island	96.7	3.3	100.0
Nova Scotia	95.3	4.7	100.0
New Brunswick	96.3	3.7	100.0
Quebec	92.2	7.8	100.0
Ontario	77.8	22.2	100.0
Manitoba	84.7	15.3	100.0
Saskatchewan	88.0	12.0	100.0
Alberta	82.7	17.3	100.0
British Columbia	77.3	22.7	100.0
Yukon and Northwest Territories	91.0	9.0	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada  
Vol. 1, Part 3 (Bulletin 1.3-6)

has 12.0% foreign-born, but only 2.1% foreign citizenship. So for every six foreign born only one is likely not a Canadian citizen. On the whole, the western provinces seem to have a greater proportion of their population with Canadian citizenship while still having substantial proportions of foreign born in their populations. We remain open to an



explanation for this phenomenon.

Ontario has the greatest proportion of foreign born, and the greatest percentage with foreign citizenship. Indeed, Ontario contains a very solid proportion of all the immigrants and foreign citizens in the country.

As tables 3 and 4 indicate, Ontario contains over 56% of all the foreign born in the country while its total residency includes a little over one third of the total national population. Particularly high concentrations of some types of foreign citizenship occur in Ontario. Close to 60% of all the Europeans in Canada with foreign citizenship live in Ontario. Of South European citizens in Canada, 66.4% are in Ontario. Large percentages of northern European, eastern European and West Indian citizens are Ontario residents. This is again reflected in Table 4 where the population is partitioned by birthplace. Migrants from western Europe, eastern Europe and Asia have also come in considerable numbers to Ontario but proportionately less than the others mentioned. There are of course some exceptions. The Netherlands, for instance, is a western European country with very high proportions in Ontario. This clustering of some foreign groups in Ontario is no new phenomenon, and in fact, carries historical traces of migratory distribution going back to the nineteenth century. We feel there must be an impact through sheer numbers. In Ontario, roughly the equivalent population size of the Toronto core were foreign citizens in 1971, and roughly the equivalent population size of the whole of Metropolitan Toronto were foreign born.

Countries, which have sent small numbers of immigrants to Ontario, are remarkably few. For instance, the Norwegians, the French, the Swiss,

Table 3 Population by country of citizenship for Canada and Ontario, 1971. Ontario as a percentage proportion of Canada

Country of citizenship		Canada	Ontario	%
Canada		20,221,155	6,940,130	34.4
United States		143,325	58,785	41.1
European	T	999,455	595,450	59.6
Northern Europe	T	458,670	279,030	57.5
Denmark		9,090	3,625	39.9
Finland		7,980	5,745	72.0
Iceland		435	145	33.4
Norway		3,230	900	27.9
Rep. of Ireland		10,715	7,015	65.5
Sweden		2,805	1,150	41.0
United Kingdom		425,415	260,450	61.3
Western Europe	T	155,440	65,155	42.0
Austria		7,455	4,060	54.5
Belgium		6,995	2,335	33.4
France		31,205	3,830	12.3
Germany		67,380	33,075	49.1
Netherlands		34,010	18,605	54.7
Switzerland		8,095	3,150	38.4
Other		300	95	31.7
Southern Europe	T	342,410	227,215	66.4
Greece		45,115	25,905	57.5
Italy		200,965	134,275	66.9
Portugal		56,230	38,615	68.7
Spain		7,670	3,005	39.2
Yugoslavia		27,465	20,720	75.5
Other		4,965	4,700	94.7

Table 3 (continued)

Country of Citizenship		Canada	Ontario	%
Eastern Europe	T	42,935	24,055	56.1
Czechoslovakia		14,285	8,075	56.6
Hungary		7,055	3,730	52.9
Poland		12,925	7,720	59.8
Romania		1,255	565	45.1
U.S.S.R.		6,850	3,540	51.7
Other		575	375	65.3
Asian countries	T	86,665	41,160	47.5
China		16,600	5,615	33.9
India		23,325	11,070	47.5
Japan		4,595	1,845	40.2
Pakistan		4,705	2,800	59.6
Other		27,445	19,835	72.3
Latin America	T	18,835	12,100	64.3
West Indies	T	47,080	32,200	68.4
Africa	T	18,465	6,605	35.8
Stateless	T	14,050	7,420	52.9
Other countries	T	19,270	9,260	48.1
Total foreign citizens		1,347,155	762,980	56.7
Grand total		21,568,310	7,703,110	35.8

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada  
Vol. 1, Part 3 (Bulletin 1.3-7)

the Chinese, and even the Japanese are somewhat underrepresented by both foreign birth and country of citizenship. These groups are likely distributed into other provincial pockets of concentration, particularly British Columbia for the Asiatics, and Quebec for the French.

Table 4 Population by birthplace for Canada and Ontario, 1971,  
Ontario as a percentage proportion of Canada

Birthplace		Canada	Ontario	%
Canada		18,272,780	5,995,710	32.9
United States		309,640	101,440	32.8
Europe	T	2,626,790	1,436,785	54.7
Northern Europe	T	1,056,670	572,215	54.2
Denmark		28,050	9,240	33.0
Finland		24,930	17,135	68.8
Iceland		1,705	325	19.1
Norway		16,350	2,440	15.0
Rep. of Ireland		34,495	21,935	63.6
Sweden		14,105	3,640	25.8
United Kingdom		933,045	517,495	55.5
Western Europe	T	477,050	225,350	47.3
Austria		40,445	17,640	43.7
Belgium		25,770	11,375	44.2
France		51,660	9,425	18.3
Germany		211,060	102,945	48.8
Netherlands		133,525	78,905	59.1
Switzerland		13,895	4,840	34.9
Other		690	225	32.6
Southern Europe	T	634,860	416,295	65.6
Greece		78,780	45,435	57.7
Italy		385,760	254,150	65.9
Portugal		71,540	47,730	66.8
Spain		10,500	3,890	37.1
Yugoslavia		78,285	55,850	71.4
Other		10,000	9,240	92.4

Table 4 (continued)

Birthplace		Canada	Ontario	%
Eastern Europe	T	458,200	222,920	48.7
Czechoslovakia		43,100	24,065	55.9
Hungary		68,490	38,050	55.6
Poland		160,035	78,375	49.0
Romania		24,405	10,530	43.2
U.S.S.R.		160,125	70,610	44.1
Other		2,045	1,290	63.2
Asian countries	T	165,745	71,110	42.9
China		57,150	18,735	32.8
India		38,875	17,025	43.8
Japan		9,485	3,720	39.3
Pakistan		4,775	2,695	56.5
Other		55,465	28,935	52.2
Australasia	T	20,230	7,910	39.1
Australia		14,335	5,720	39.9
Other		5,895	2,190	37.2
Latin America	T	36,040	20,665	57.4
West Indies	T	68,090	44,610	65.6
Africa	T	45,510	15,605	34.3
Other countries	T	23,490	9,275	39.5
Total foreign born		3,295,530	1,707,395	51.8
Grand total		21,568,310	7,703,105	35.8

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada  
Vol. 1, Part:3 (Bulletin 1.3-6)

Table 5 was derived by selecting from Table 1 provinces with high proportions of non-citizens. In every case, foreign citizenship is



strongly associated with urban settlement.<sup>1</sup> Quebec has the least rural foreign citizenship and British Columbia has the greatest proportion of rural foreign citizens. In Ontario, the vast majority, some 16 times as many foreign citizens live in the cities as opposed to the countryside. As can be seen from Table 5, the 717,965 Ontario residents with foreign citizenship are 11.3% of all urban dwellers in the province, while the 45,010 rural foreign citizens are only 3.3% of the rural population, the highest proportional difference in the nation.

Table 6 focuses on the urban areas of Toronto and Montreal.<sup>2</sup> Toronto, with 18% of its total population having foreign citizenship, eclipses Montreal's proportion as well as that of every other major Canadian city. Table 7 again highlights Toronto's first generation distinctiveness. Thirty four percent of the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area is foreign born.

Interesting variations occur between these cities. Montreal has been a gravitation point for more western Europeans, particularly French immigrants. Toronto has had more northern European settlement, particularly immigrants from the United Kingdom. Language facility is the most likely variable accounting for this distribution. Although the total numbers are smaller there is a greater proportional migration of southern Europeans, particularly Italians, to Montreal. This relationship carries through the distributions of foreign citizenship

<sup>1</sup> Urban is defined as residency in a municipality numbering 10,000 or more.

<sup>2</sup> Urban areas referred to are Census Metropolitan Areas.

Table 5 Numerical and percentage distribution of citizens of other countries for Canada and selected provinces by urban and rural, 1971

Area	Citizens of other countries	
	Number	Percentage of total
Canada	1,347,155	6.2
Urban	1,234,560	7.5
Rural	112,595	2.2
Quebec	212,640	3.5
Urban	206,420	4.2
Rural	6,220	0.5
Ontario	762,975	9.9
Urban	717,965	11.3
Rural	45,010	3.3
Manitoba	43,550	4.4
Urban	39,675	5.8
Rural	3,880	1.3
Alberta	90,490	5.6
Urban	79,430	6.6
Rural	11,060	2.6
British Columbia	186,595	8.5
Urban	154,660	9.3
Rural	31,935	6.1

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada  
Vol. 1, Part 3 (Bulletin 1.3-7)

where again foreign citizenship among the southern Europeans is more prevalent in Montreal than Toronto. The southern Europeans in Montreal significantly outweigh all the other groups represented. This is a marked contrast to Toronto where northern European immigrants share

Table 6 Numerical and percentage distribution of citizens of other countries in Toronto and Montreal, 1971

Country of Citizenship	Toronto			Montreal		
	Number	Percentage		Number	Percentage	
		Of total	Non- Canadian		Of total	Non- Canadian
Canada	2,153,300	82.0		2,551,600	93.0	
U.S.A.	23,900	0.9	5.0	16,200	0.6	8.5
Western Europe	T 30,200	1.2	6.4	31,600	1.2	16.5
France	1,600	0.1	0.3	19,600	0.7	10.2
Germany	16,400	0.6	3.4	4,800	0.2	2.5
Netherlands	6,500	0.2	1.4	2,000	0.1	1.1
Other	5,700	0.2	1.2	5,200	0.2	2.7
Northern Europe	T 162,600	6.2	34.2	30,000	1.1	15.6
Finland	2,800	0.1	0.6	100	-	-
Scandinavian	3,400	0.1	0.7	800	-	0.4
United Kingdom	151,300	5.8	31.8	28,600	1.0	14.9
Other	5,100	0.2	1.1	500	-	0.3
Southern Europe	T 162,400	6.2	34.2	72,700	2.7	37.9
Italy	100,700	3.8	21.2	45,700	1.7	23.8
Other	61,700	2.3	13.0	27,000	1.0	14.1
Eastern Europe	T 16,100	0.6	3.4	5,300	0.2	2.8
Poland	5,800	0.2	1.2	1,800	0.1	0.9
U.S.S.R.	2,300	0.1	0.5	800	-	0.4
Other	8,000	0.3	1.7	2,700	0.1	1.5
Asian Countries	T 29,700	1.1	6.2	12,500	0.4	6.5
China	4,300	0.2	0.9	1,500	0.1	0.8
India & Pakistan	8,700	0.3	1.8	3,200	0.1	1.7
Other	16,700	0.6	3.6	7,800	0.2	4.0
Other & Stateless	T 49,800	1.9	10.5	23,400	0.8	12.2
Total foreign citizens	474,700	18.0	100.0	191,700	7.0	100.0
Grand total	2,628,000	100.0		2,743,300	100.0	

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census Public Use Sample tape  
Vol, 1, Part 3 (Bulletin 1.3-6)

with southern Europeans roughly the same proportion of the total population. The balance in Toronto of 6.2% foreign citizens for both northern and southern Europeans seems quite unusual given the total numbers involved. Proportions for other immigrant foreign born and foreign citizenships are comparatively equal in the cities, both for groups of countries by totals and individual nations of origin. At any rate, the totals for all countries other than northern, western, and southern European nations makes up less than 30% of the foreign born or foreign citizens for either city.

What are the implications of this macro level picture? There are several points to be made. First of all, foreign citizenship in a sub-population (province or city) is a fairly smooth correlate<sup>1</sup> of percentage foreign born. In many of these previous tables, there are relatively few large discrepancies for most groups between the percentage foreign born and percentage with foreign citizenship in a particular location. An example of groups where a smooth correlate does not exist are the eastern European countries where the percentage foreign born is much higher than is the percentage foreign citizen. This may be a political response to historical conditions and foreign citizenship, for the eastern European undoubtedly has a character which is analytically different and somewhat beyond this investigation. We will return to this later in this chapter.

<sup>1</sup> Between 1 in 3 and 1 in 2, that is, between a third and a half of foreign born for most groups and locations are also foreign citizens.

Table 7 Composite table using published census data and public use sample data showing numerical and percentage distribution of birthplace for Toronto and Montreal Census Metropolitan Areas, 1971

Birthplace		Toronto			Montreal		
		Number	%		Number	%	
			Of total	Of for- eign born		Of total	Of for- eign born
Canada		1,734,815	66.0		2,337,555	85.2	
United States		35,830	1.4	4.0	26,350	1.0	6.5
Europe	T	739,810	28.1	82.8	312,905	11.5	77.1
Northern Europe	T	276,545	10.5	31.0	62,470	2.3	15.4
United Kingdom		251,275	9.5	28.1	56,590	2.1	13.9
Rep. of Ireland		13,170	0.5	1.5	3,025	0.1	0.8
Other		12,100	0.5	1.4	2,855	0.1	0.7
Western Europe	T	81,155	3.0	9.1	57,670	2.1	14.2
Belgium		3,300	0.1	0.4	6,300	0.2	1.5
France		3,800	0.1	0.4	27,100	1.0	6.7
Germany		45,380	1.7	5.1	15,975	0.6	3.9
Netherlands		18,005	0.7	2.0	3,505	0.1	0.8
Other		10,670	0.4	1.2	4,790	0.2	1.2
Southern Europe	T	270,255	10.3	30.2	133,385	4.8	32.9
Greece		37,900	1.4	4.2	25,500	0.9	6.3
Italy		164,985	6.3	18.5	87,660	3.2	21.6
Portugal & Spain		36,000	1.4	4.0	13,900	0.5	3.4
Other		31,370	1.2	3.5	6,325	0.2	1.6
Eastern Europe	T	111,850	4.3	12.5	59,375	2.2	14.6
Poland		40,965	1.6	4.6	20,855	0.8	5.2
U.S.S.R.		37,880	1.4	4.2	16,020	0.6	3.9
Other		33,010	1.3	3.7	22,500	0.8	5.5
Asia	T	46,580	1.8	5.2	23,210	0.8	5.7
China		12,345	0.5	1.4	5,430	0.2	1.3
India & Pakistan		12,790	0.5	1.4	4,870	0.2	1.2
Other		21,445	0.8	2.4	12,915	0.4	3.2



Table 7 (continued)

Birthplace		Toronto			Montreal		
		Number	%		Number	%	
			Of total	Of foreign born		Of total	Of foreign born
Africa	T	10,620	0.4	1.2	20,520	0.7	5.0
West Indies and Latin America	T	49,770	1.9	5.6	18,920	0.7	4.7
Other countries	T	10,700	0.4	1.2	3,770	0.1	0.9
Total foreign born		893,310	34.0	100.0	405,675	14.8	100.0
Grand total		2,628,125	100.0		2,743,230	100.0	

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada and the Public Use Sample tape Vol. 1, Part 3 (Bulletin 1,3-6)

Secondly, there is considerable geographic variation both in the centres of foreign citizen population and the specific regions of foreign citizen density. The evidence would suggest that the greater the pooling of immigrant foreign born the higher will be the proportions of foreign citizens. Within this context we can explore the size and composition characteristics which comprise a subpopulation (Breton et al. 1974). Four size and regional distribution tendencies appear. Large but differentiated urban foreign born agglomerations such as in Toronto suggest an overall maintenance of foreign citizenship. Low total proportions of foreign born such as in Atlantic Canada promote a marginal lowering of the numbers of foreign citizens. Medium sized proportions of foreign born such as in the prairie provinces seem to lead to the maximum rate of entry into the citizenship stream. A large differentiated proportion of one ethnic subgroup, for example, the Italians, in an urban

centre such as Montreal, leads to a reduction in entries into the citizenship process. Coupled with this are the doubling effects evident in Ontario, where high proportions of foreign born are first provincially pooled, and secondly pooled into the urban metropolis of Toronto. We are not arguing that sheer size of the foreign-born cohort alone is the variable responsible for this variation, but if we had no other data available we would be compelled to comment on these data which do pose interesting questions.

### 2.3 Composite data

To continue this line of comparative reasoning Table 8 was prepared. In this case a "Raw Percentage Index" of non-citizens was calculated. For instance, in Canada in 1971, there were 309,640 individuals who were born in the United States. At that time there were living in Canada 143,325 persons with American citizenship. Proportionally, about 46.3% of all American born residents were still American citizens. This is a "Raw Percentage Index" precisely because it does not correct for American born with say United Kingdom citizenship or Canadian born with American citizenship. In the above examples the first would be a case in the "foreign birthplace" column and the second would be a case in the "country's citizenship" column. It is not known if these cases might balance out (or cancel one another) but this raw percentage index gives us a comparative mechanism to examine nation by nation variation provided it is recognized that the cases are not linked. This is a aggregate index and must be viewed with

some caution.

Again, we first note the effect of pooling. In Table 8, when we draw out the Ontario distributions, they show almost uniformly a marginally higher proportion of foreign-citizens than does the nation except for, notably, Belgium, France, and the Netherlands and in a very trivial way, Greece and Hungary. The case of the French immigrants in Ontario is most dramatic. With a very small provincial population the pressure to alter citizenship seems considerable. By contrast, the Americans are far more likely to be foreign citizens, if residents of Ontario. We can only suggest that the actual physical penetration of the grand trunk of southern Ontario into the United States with the resultant cultural interplay is the most likely explanation.

Besides this regional variation, there is considerable diversity by national origin. In rough terms, the nations can be reclassified by (a) the long term migration stream, (b) the short term stream, and (c) political migration.

Let us start with the East Europeans. Political migrants are, far and away, the most likely to become Canadians. In fact, if only political refugees were immigrants to Canada the proportion of foreign citizens in the country would in all likelihood virtually vanish. There are complex patriotic motives at play here, and doubtless the category 'stateless' has little to recommend itself in the international community. But the differences are revealing. Both Poland and the U.S.S.R. have over 160,000 of their offspring in Canada. They are tied for the rank of fifth largest source of foreign born in Canada yet practically all are Canadians. They contrast markedly with the

Table 8 Raw percentage index of foreign born with foreign citizenship for various countries for Canada and Ontario, 1971

Country	Canada			Ontario		
	Number with foreign birthplace	Number with that country's citizenship	Raw % foreign citizen	Number with foreign birthplace	Number with that country's citizenship	Raw % foreign citizen
United States	309,640	143,325	46.3	101,440	58,785	57.9
Northern Europe						
Denmark	28,050	9,090	32.4	9,240	3,625	39.2
Finland	24,930	7,980	32.0	17,135	5,745	33.5
Iceland	1,705	435	25.5	325	145	44.6
Norway	16,350	3,230	19.7	2,440	900	36.8
Rep. of Ireland	34,495	10,715	31.0	21,935	7,015	31.9
Sweden	14,105	2,805	19.8	3,640	1,150	31.6
United Kingdom	933,045	425,415	45.6	517,495	260,450	50.3
Western Europe						
Austria	40,445	7,455	18.4	17,640	4,060	23.0
Belgium	25,770	6,995	27.1	11,375	2,335	20.5
France	51,660	31,205	60.4	9,425	3,830	40.6
Germany	211,060	67,380	31.9	102,945	33,075	32.1
Netherlands	133,525	34,010	25.4	78,905	18,605	23.5
Switzerland	13,895	8,095	58.2	4,840	3,150	65.0
Southern Europe						
Greece	78,780	45,115	57.2	45,435	25,905	57.0
Italy	385,760	200,965	52.1	254,150	134,275	52.8
Portugal	71,540	56,230	78.6	47,730	38,615	80.9
Spain	10,500	7,670	73.0	3,890	3,005	77.2
Yugoslavia	78,285	27,465	35.0	55,850	20,720	37.0

Table 8 (continued)

Country	Canada			Ontario		
	Number with foreign birthplace	Number with that country's citizenship	Raw % foreign citizen	Number with foreign birthplace	Number with that country's citizenship	Raw % foreign citizen
Eastern Europe						
Czechoslovakia	43,100	14,285	33.1	24,065	8,075	33.5
Hungary	68,490	7,055	10.3	38,050	3,730	9.8
Poland	160,035	12,925	8.0	78,375	7,720	9.8
Romania	24,405	1,255	5.1	10,530	565	5.3
U.S.S.R.	160,125	6,850	4.2	70,610	3,590	5.0
Asia						
China	57,150	16,600	29.0	18,735	5,615	29.9
India	38,875	23,325	60.0	17,025	11,070	65.0
Japan	9,485	4,595	48.4	3,720	1,845	49.5
Pakistan	4,775	4,705	98.5	2,695	2,800	+100.0
Latin America	36,040	18,835	52.3	20,665	12,100	58.6
West Indies	68,090	47,080	69.1	44,610	32,200	72.2
Africa	45,510	18,465	40.6	15,605	6,605	42.3
Total for all countries	3,295,530	1,347,155	40.8	1,707,395	762,980	44.7

Source: Numeric Data from Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada  
Vol. 1, Part 3 (Bulletins 1.3-6 and 7)

Italians or the Germans, who have been migrating for decades, and of whom many are still foreign citizens. Also of note is the effect of recency of migration and political leniency on these proportions. Here are the countries ranked by percentage non-citizen: Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, U.S.S.R. This is almost a mirror image of our western understanding of the geographic mobility allowed out of and into



these republics of the Soviet Union. Indeed, Yugoslavia exports migrant labour throughout Europe while the U.S.S.R. worries ceaselessly about defectors. There would seem little doubt that the relative firmness of closed doors is an all but overwhelming variable in the citizenship process for political migrants.

The long-term migration countries, in this case, particularly the northern and western European countries, show considerable variability in the percentage of foreign citizens, but on the whole, they are proportionally lower overall than the shorter term streams from southern Europe (excluding Italy) and Asia (excluding China) and the West Indies (Table 8). The difference between the streams, we suggest, is primarily a result of the percentage of immigrants who have fulfilled the residency requirement. The difference within the two streams is one of the main topics of the survey analysis. Within the long-term stream countries, the United Kingdom immigrants and the Swiss, are the least likely to be Canadian citizens. The effect of United Kingdom citizenship is compounded by size, since it is the single largest source of foreign born and the migration stream has a very long history. The United Kingdom citizenship is of course further camouflaged by the nature of the 1946 Citizenship Act which eliminated Commonwealth immigrants from the term "foreign" or "alien". Immigrants from the Netherlands are particularly noted for their smaller proportions of foreign citizens among the long-term stream countries although an explanation cannot be suggested at this point.

Among the short-term migration countries, some surprising variability emerges. The Greeks are entering the citizenship stream at, it would seem, a brisk clip. The Portuguese and the Spaniards

are flagging far behind. The West Indians and East Indians are somewhere in between. If one views the bulk of Italian migration as primarily post-World War II then it, too, is a short-term migration source, but the proportions of Italians with foreign citizenship is even lower than for the Greeks. We will examine this in the survey, but for now we would argue that the size of the Italian group among all southern Europeans could provide momentum for members of Italian origin to enter the citizenship process.

The findings from Table 8 are continued on Table 9, a table constructed from Public Use Sample Data. Again, Toronto exhibits even across the board increases in the percentage of foreign-citizens when compared with Ontario in Table 8. The case of French immigrants is again illustrative. In Toronto, a small increase in French foreign-citizens occurs as compared with Ontario as a whole. However, in Montreal, an overwhelming proportion of French immigrants are foreign-citizens. Citizens of the United States are sharply higher in both cities, as are citizens of the Netherlands. Even more important is the sharp increase for the United Kingdom citizenship in Toronto. The Italians too show more foreign citizenship in Toronto. The Greeks show the most stability in the tables. Whether at the national, provincial or particular metropolitan area level they hardly change more than a percentage point. While immigrant composition, that is, total foreign born, may be a factor in the higher proportions of urban foreign citizens when compared to the national distribution, the wide variability in proportions between Toronto and Montreal does not point to enclavic segregation as an explanation. For instance, the Americans

Table 9 Raw percentage index of foreign born with foreign citizenship for various countries for Toronto and Montreal Census Metropolitan Areas, 1971

Country	Toronto			Montreal		
	Number with a foreign birthplace	Number with that country's citizenship	Raw % foreign citizen	Number with a foreign birthplace	Number with that country's citizenship	Raw % foreign citizen
United States	35,830	23,900	66.7	26,350	16,200	61.5
France	3,800	1,600	42.1	27,100	19,600	72.3
Germany	45,380	16,400	36.1	15,975	4,800	30.0
Netherlands	18,005	6,500	36.1	3,505	2,000	57.1
United Kingdom	251,275	151,300	60.2	56,590	28,600	50.5
Italy	164,985	100,700	61.0	87,660	45,700	52.1
Greece	37,900	21,500	56.7	25,500	14,400	56.5
Portugal and Spain	36,000	27,300	76.0	13,900	9,600	69.1
Poland	40,965	5,800	14.1	20,855	1,800	8.6
U.S.S.R.	37,880	2,300	6.1	16,020	800	5.0
China	12,345	4,300	34.8	5,430	1,500	27.6
India & Pakistan	12,790	8,700	68.0	4,870	3,200	65.7
Total for all countries	893,310	474,700	53.1	405,675	191,700	47.3

Source: Numeric Data from Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada Vol. 1, Part 3 (Bulletins 1.3-6 and 7) and 1971 Census Public Use Sample tape

would likely be more enclavic in Montreal than Toronto because of language use, but they have higher proportions of foreign citizenship in Toronto. The Netherland migrants also have the lowest levels of foreign-citizenship where they are in the greatest numbers. We do not have detailed segregation density data and much of this may be speculation. On balance

though, except perhaps for the Portuguese and United Kingdom immigrants in Toronto, we would argue that group size does not operate at the level of the size of a specific group within a specified population, but rather at the level of the total size of all foreign born within a specified population.

#### 2.4 Historical trends

Table 10 provides a 50-year overview of patterns of foreign born for a few selected areas of emigration to Canada. The relative decline of foreign born in the total population until 1951 was primarily an artifact of the decline of United Kingdom and American immigrants. Offsetting this, through the last two decades, is increased emigration from other European countries and a small increase of Asiatics and others of various nationality origins. The consequence of this distribution is that the citizenship diversity in Canada has steadily grown in the last half century while total proportions of foreign born have been more stable.

On balance this indicates that the Citizenship Registration Branch now addresses a population which has wider variability than ever before. To solve these problems, some estimate of the feasibility of examining certain specific nationalities as part of larger umbrella groupings is necessary. Certainly the task of encouraging registration would be less hazardous if the proportion of foreign born were more like the 1921 pattern.

Table 11 gives the distribution of Canadian and foreign citizen-

Table 10 Percentage distribution of the population by birthplace,  
Canada, 1921-1971

Birthplace	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
Canada	77.7	77.8	82.5	85.3	84.4	84.7
United Kingdom and Commonwealth	12.2	11.4	8.7	6.6	5.6	5.1
United States	4.3	3.3	2.7	2.0	1.6	1.4
European countries	5.2	6.9	5.7	5.7	8.0	7.8
Asiatic countries	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.6
Other	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada  
Vol. 1, Part 3 (Bulletin 1.3-6)

Table 11 Percentage distribution of the population by country of  
citizenship, Canada, 1921-1971

Country of citizenship	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
Canada	95.7	94.9	97.4	96.8	94.2	93.8
Other	4.3	5.1	2.6	3.2	5.8	6.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Census of Canada, Population Characteristics, volumes no. 1  
1921-1971.



ship in the national population over the same 50-year period, and exhibits a glaring anomaly. In the 1941 war period, foreign citizenship declined dramatically even though the percentage foreign born according to Table 10 had only declined marginally. We find it unlikely that the true counts could ever have dropped that low. This period of patriotism must have had inevitable confounding effects on the reporting of the data for that period. This consideration aside, the significant trend in Table 11 is the steady rise in resident foreign citizenship to a 50-year high in 1971. Whether this was the crest of the wave will only be seen in 1981.

## 2.5 Summary evidence

This overview of census material perhaps raises more questions than it answers but it provides us with a number of notable referents. The extent of foreign citizenship in Canada is at an historic high point. The totals of foreign born as a proportion of the total population has been declining gradually. Regions of settlement in Canada for certain immigrant groups are highly selective. The geographic distribution of foreign citizenship is a fairly smooth correlate of percentage foreign born with some notable exceptions. There is a high degree of variability in the proportions of foreign born to foreign citizen for particular nationalities of origin. This variation cannot simply be explained with reference to periods of immigration. The possible effects of group size have been examined and the possible effects of urban pooling have been observed as it affects entry into the citizenship process. The case is made that

the Toronto population has netted the double effects of both size and urban pooling as first a provincial, and secondly, a metropolitan phenomenon. This is a partial justification for the choice of a Toronto-centred survey and for the use of Toronto as a case study in the Public Use Sample analysis. There is little doubt it represents the most favourable location for the analysis of Citizenship Registration Branch's special concerns.

Table 12 gives a profile extracted from previous tables of the changes in raw percentage foreign born with foreign citizenship, for selected groups, as we focus down from the national to the city level. The target groups refer to the groups used in further analysis in this report but some of the other groups noted were selected by the Department of the Secretary of State in the research prospectus as potential groups for examination. In the best of all possible research worlds it would have been fortunate if they could have been included.

Table 12 Summary of specific country groups with raw percentage index of foreign born with foreign citizenship for Canada, Ontario, and Toronto Census Metropolitan Area, 1971

Country	Canada	Ontario	Toronto CMA
Total of all countries	40.8	44.7	53.1
Target groups			
United Kingdom	45.6	50.3	60.2
Italy	52.1	52.8	61.0
Greece	57.2	57.0	56.7
Portugal (and Spain for Toronto CMA)	78.6	80.9	76.0
Others of comparative interest			
United States	46.3	57.9	66.7
France	60.4	40.6	42.1
Germany	31.9	32.1	36.1
Netherlands	25.4	23.5	36.1
Poland	8.0	9.8	14.1
U.S.S.R.	4.2	5.0	6.1

Source: Summary of data in tables 8 and 9

### 3 PUBLIC USE SAMPLE ANALYSIS

#### 3.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter allowed us to examine very large aggregates narrowing down from the national to the particular city level. This has revealed that the demographic properties which bear on the nature of citizenship can most adequately be examined for diversity by looking at the Census Metropolitan Areas of either Toronto or Montreal.

The analysis of data in this section is based on individual record data for a 1 in 100 sample taken from the 1971 census.<sup>1</sup> A sample from the census is a valuable tool. With this data the user can generate output which is structured to his needs. In this way, for the census variables which we have chosen to examine, we have developed a parallel system of analysis to the survey sample data in the next chapter. The variables available are limited in this census sample to certain individual variables. That is, the set of family and household characteristics examined by the census are not available to us for analysis, because they are part of separate and non-linked files which do not contain the citizenship variable. The key to this analysis is simply the exploration of the structural nature of citizenship for the target groups along dimensions of age, education, income, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Details can be found in Appendix E of the working research report.

This has proven to be a worthy endeavour.

The major problem with census analysis is the richness and diversity of the data source. We must limit our focus or go somewhat overboard with interpretation. We have mentioned that it makes sense to explore citizenship diversity at the Census Metropolitan Area level. The Public Use Sample offers us Toronto and Montreal and Table 13 breaks down the available cases for each city. We have selected a number of specific countries for this table. These cases have been sample weighted with two zeros (since every case is equal to a weight of 100). In the file there are, for instance, only 378 persons born in the United States who are resident in the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area, and 280 in Montreal.

What is clear from Table 13 is that more cases are available for analysis if we focus on Toronto. This is especially true for target groups with origins in the United Kingdom, Italy, Greece and Portugal. We could aggregate the two cities into a total cases frame, but we feel the evidence from Chapter 2 precludes such grouping. We feel that it is better to examine the discrete Toronto Census Metropolitan Area in detail and avoid the confounding, which is bound to occur, if the two cities are lumped together. Partialling of data on Montreal has been done, but is not included here, as it doubles the complexity of the analysis.

A note is necessary on the problem of Spain. The Public Use Sample data on some variables are categorically mixed. The birth-place variable for instance, groups Portugal and Spain together. While this creates a file with a few more cases it alters the purity



Table 13 Public use sample birthplace for selected countries,  
total counts, Census Metropolitan Areas Toronto and  
Montreal, 1971

Public use sample code	Country of birth	Census Metro- politan Areas		Total Cases
		Toronto	Montreal	
13	United States	37,800	28,000	65,800
15	France	3,800	27,100	30,900
16	Germany	45,200	16,100	61,300
17	Netherlands	16,900	4,100	21,000
20	United Kingdom	261,300	56,500	317,800
22	Greece	37,900	25,500	63,400
23	Italy	164,600	88,400	253,000
24	Portugal and Spain	36,000	13,900	49,900
26	Poland	41,100	21,600	62,700
27	U.S.S.R.	37,400	15,800	53,200
29	China	13,100	25,300	38,400
30	India and Pakistan	12,200	5,200	17,400
33	West Indies and Latin America	49,700	18,400	68,100

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Public Use Sample tape

of the analysis. We do not have data which indicate the true proportion of Spaniards to Portuguese for Toronto. Data from Table 3 indicate that at the national level if the Portuguese and the Spaniards were grouped, the immigrants from Spain would be 12% of the total. At the province of Ontario level, they would be 7.2%. We are using the latter

figure as an estimate in the Public Use Sample totals of the proportion from Spain. This estimate aside, we are treating the "Portugal and Spain" category as homogeneous in character until further evidence indicates an error in judgement.

### 3.2 Accuracy of sample estimates

One of the virtues of the Public Use Sample should be its accuracy in estimating population parameters. While it is still a sample, it is a unique kind of sample since it was chosen from the exhaustive list of all members of the population. For a few of the countries in the file we have both the sample counts and the total official counts from published census sources for the Toronto and Montreal Census Metropolitan Areas.

Table 14 compares this data. We would expect high levels of accuracy in the sample and such accuracy is obtained when data are averaged over a number of observations. In some individual rows the estimates are conclusive in their accuracy. For instance, in the case of West Indies and Latin America, for Toronto Census Metropolitan Area, the error is less than the rounding error for both estimates. In other cases, they would not adequately meet a 98% confidence interval (e.g., United States in Montreal), since the error halved is greater than 3%. Size of a subgroup alone does not seem to increase the confidence since the United Kingdom respondents born in Toronto have an error which would just meet 98% confidence. This sample estimation from such a unique sample gives us some insight

Table 14 Estimates of public use sample error using birthplace for Toronto and Montreal Census Metropolitan Areas for selected countries, 1971

Country of birth	Census Metropolitan Areas					
	Toronto			Montreal		
	P.U.S. count	Official count	% error	P.U.S. count	Official count	% error
United States	37,800	35,830	+ 5.5	28,000	26,350	+ 6.2
United Kingdom	261,300	251,275	+ 4.0	56,500	56,590	-0.1
Germany	45,200	45,380	-0.4	16,100	15,975	+ 0.8
Italy	164,600	164,985	-0.2	88,400	87,660	+ 0.8
U.S.S.R.	37,400	37,880	-1.2	15,800	16,020	-1.4
West Indies and Latin America	49,700	49,770	-0.1	18,400	18,920	-2.7
Average error			+ 1.3			+ 0.6

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census and Public Use Sample tape  
Vol. 1, Part 3 (Bulletin 1.3-6)

into the possible accuracy of survey sample estimators. We will not dwell on this issue, but surveys may be more useful as test grounds for hypotheses than as bases for population point estimates. At any rate, survey sampling in human populations for a 95% confidence of estimators is a tricky task if these census data are indicative of margins of error.

### 3.3 Basic distribution

In the previous chapter we calculated a Raw Percentage Index of foreign citizenship for a particular nation as a proportion of the total

who claimed that nation as a country of birth. In Table 15 we have an accurate estimate of the True Percentage Index for the four target countries of origin in the Toronto and Montreal Census Metropolitan Areas. If the reader refers to Table 9, we note a very close correspondence between the Raw Index and the True Index but only for Greece, Italy and the Portugal and Spain groups. There is an overestimate of foreign citizenship for the United Kingdom of about 10% in both Toronto and Montreal in the Raw Index (Table 9). This must have come about because substantial numbers (say about 20,000 in Toronto) of individuals have United Kingdom citizenship, but were not born in the United Kingdom. These cases are quite unusual and we have not been able to explore their nature. We can speculate, however, that they may be part of the "transilient" migrant stream which Richmond (1967) has identified where allegiance is somewhat nebulous and mobility is international.

Table 15 informs us, though, that for most nations of origin our raw index of foreign citizens is a reasonable estimator for the population even when partialled by region. The table also indicates that the United Kingdom group has a lower proportion of foreign citizens, when we are examining discrete individuals, who claim to have been born in the United Kingdom. Further, it indicates that United Kingdom citizenship is a complex of many nationalities of origin some of which may have been exported twice, perhaps by double migration.

Table 15 also portrays that the target groups are (a) well above the total national average in the proportion of foreign citizens, (b) well above metropolitan averages for proportion of foreign citizens, and (c) differentiated significantly between one another in the proportions

Table 15 Corrected public use sample birthplace for target groups by citizenship status, all ages and periods of immigration, Toronto and Montreal Census Metropolitan Areas, 1971

Country of birth	Toronto				Montreal			
	Canadian citizenship		Foreign citizenship		Canadian citizenship		Foreign citizenship	
	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
United Kingdom	49.9	(1,305)	50.1	(1,305)	59.8	(338)	40.2	(227)
Greece	43.3	( 164)	56.7	( 215)	43.5	(111)	56.5	(144)
Italy	39.4	( 648)	60.6	( 998)	48.8	(431)	51.2	(453)
Portugal and Spain	24.2	( 87)	75.8	( 273)	30.9	( 43)	69.1	( 96)
Total for above countries	44.1	(2,204)	55.9	(2,794)	50.1	(923)	49.9	(920)

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Public Use Sample tape

who have become Canadian citizens. On balance, the immigrants of these groups have a greater chance of becoming a citizen if they live in Montreal even for the very reluctant groups such as the Portuguese. These data serve to confirm much of our analysis in Chapter 2.

Table 16 partials the data from Table 15 by age class. Life-cycle is probably the single most important collinear variable in social research. In causal analysis it precedes virtually every other variable, and so we are including it here as a basic distribution variable. The differences in Table 16 are very revealing. Because age is so strongly correlated with other traditional structural variables



(eg. education, income), Table 16 "exemplifies" much of the overall variance in this problem. Further, age is likely strongly correlated with residency, the "identification" elements which Richmond (1974) argues compose a socio-psychological explanation for a change of citizenship.

Two features of Table 16 are salient. First, there is the strong positive association between greater age and greater proportions Canadian citizens, except for the Portuguese and Spanish group, where there is a significant rise in the proportions of foreign citizens among those over age 51. The second feature is the clear shift in the proportions that are Canadian citizens between the 35 and younger groups, and 36 and older groups. On this model, immigrants would come to Canada between the ages of 21 and 35 and take out citizenship about 15 years later. This is not an unreasonable average assumption, but it implies that attention should be directed to this age 36 to 50 group as the subset of individuals with the greatest propensity for an alteration of their foreign citizenship. The older age group (51 plus) may be more involved in the long term processes of identification, but among the southern Europeans a slowing occurs in the proportions added who become citizens after age 50. As for the United Kingdom group, while age may not always bring wisdom, it ultimately seems to lead to citizenship.

In some ways, it seems unfair, when computing the proportion foreign citizen, to include children. Certainly from the standpoint of registration it only makes sense to determine the numbers of adults who can become or have become citizens for the target groups.

Table 16 Percentage of Canadian citizens and foreign citizens controlling for age, all periods of immigration, for target nationality groups, Toronto Census Metropolitan Area 1971

Country of birth	All ages		Under 21		21-35		36-50		51 Plus		(n)
	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	
United Kingdom	49.9	50.1	16.5	83.5	21.5	78.5	46.9	53.1	80.1	19.9	(2613)
Greece	43.3	56.7	32.8	67.2	32.5	67.5	53.6	46.4	69.1	30.9	( 379)
Italy	39.4	60.6	26.6	73.4	34.0	66.0	48.0	52.0	50.9	49.1	(1646)
Portugal and Spain	24.2	75.8	23.2	76.8	18.2	81.8	34.4	65.6	21.6	78.4	( 360)
Total for above countries	44.1	55.9	24.8	75.2	26.5	73.4	45.7	54.3	55.4	44.6	(4998)

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census Public Use Sample tape

Similarly, until very recently, five years of residence was required before most individuals could become citizens, so we cannot fairly refer to foreign citizens with potential for citizenship when the legal access is unavailable.

Table 17 has deleted minors (as defined in 1971) and individuals whose period of immigration was after 1966, and, therefore, had less than five years of residency by census time. Here we see that the percentage foreign citizen has been lowered somewhat. The United Kingdom foreign citizens have dropped considerably from the totals in Table 15. United Kingdom foreign citizenship in the general population seems as much a function of the totals of their numbers and some recent migration, as it is a consequence of non-registration. In Table 17 the Portugal and Spain group also gain a greater proportion of Canadian citizens. The recency of their migration in the period 1966 to 1971 had probably inflated their proportion under foreign citizen in the earlier tables. The Italians are relatively stable from earlier calculations and the Greeks gain the most Canadian citizens.

### 3.4 Correlates of citizenship

In our examination of this data source (N = 3564)<sup>1</sup>, we have generated a series of three-way table analyses. We have used citizenship status as the dependent variable and have treated it dichotomously

<sup>1</sup> These are the cases in Table 17 who were legal adults with five years of residency in 1971.

Table 17 Adult (21 and over) proportion with five year residency showing Canadian citizens and foreign citizens for target nationality groups, Toronto Census Metropolitan Area, 1971

Country of birth	Canadian citizen	Foreign citizen		
	%	%	%	(n)
United Kingdom	62.1	37.9	100	(1,985)
Greece	55.6	44.4	100	( 252)
Italy	47.8	52.2	100	(1,176)
Portugal and Spain	37.1	62.9	100	( 151)
Total				(3,564)

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census Public Use Sample tape

as either Canadian or foreign citizen. We have introduced a number of proposed independent variables, available to us from the same file of data, and we have controlled the data by country of birth for our four target groups. To generate this analysis, considerable restructuring of the data set was necessary. Strictly speaking, this is still two-way analysis, since by controlling for country of birth we are really merely selecting a country of birth subsample and examining the distributions. But this strategy aids our comparative interpretation of these groups by nationality of origin and creates valuable tables for examination.

Table 18    Citizenship status by period of immigration for adults with five year  
residency in target groups, Toronto Census Metropolitan Area, 1971  
in percent

Target group	Before 1946		1946-55		1956-60		1961-65		1966	
	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	(n)
United Kingdom	92.7	7.3	56.3	43.7	31.7	68.3	5.2	94.8	4.8	95.2 (1985)
Greece	88.9	11.1	80.9	19.1	73.7	26.3	26.5	73.5	0.0	100.0 ( 252)
Italy	88.2	11.8	74.6	25.4	42.7	57.3	15.4	84.6	4.1	95.9 (1176)
Portugal and Spain	50.0	50.0	70.0	30.0	56.3	43.8	30.4	69.6	0.0	100.0 ( 151)
Total	92.3	7.7	65.0	35.0	42.0	58.0	16.1	83.9	3.4	96.5 (3564)

Source:    Statistics Canada, 1971 Public Use Sample tape



From this analysis four clusters of structural variables have emerged: period of immigration, personal attributes, literacy level, and socioeconomic status gradients. Each creates distinct but separate influences on the data. We will deal with each in turn, and then comment on the possible interactive effects.

### 3.41 Period of immigration

As can be quickly ascertained by the contents of Table 18, length of residency in Canada, as indexed by period of immigration, is by far the most linear correlate we have examined so far. Several features of this table are of note. Prewar immigrants from these groups had produced by 1971 over 92% of their cohort with Canadian citizenship. Time, at least when spread over 30 plus years, is obviously a leveler. Using a conception, which implies that a mode of around 15 years of residency for many immigrants is the optimum time to take out citizenship, we would expect that changes in citizenship would likely fade quickly after say 20 years of residency. This reflects a popular conception that people would accommodate, over time, to their foreign citizenship status, and as they age, they would "not want to bother" with the procedure. (Instead, these data in Table 18 note that the move over time to citizenship is accelerative, especially for the United Kingdom and Italian groups.)

In this regard, the takeoff phase is noted in the break between the 1956-60 and the 1961-65 periods. These figures reflect our

earlier posed age model, where the distribution sharpens at the 10 to 15 years of residency mark. One can see, however, that the sharpness of the rising curve is pushed back five more years to the 1946-55 period in the case of the United Kingdom and Italian groups. These periods of immigration are part of the structure of the Public Use Sample data set and we have not pooled these years together ourselves. We would have liked to plot histograms by specific year but this is not possible. After 1965, the data is arranged by single years. We have included 1966 (the basic five years) to establish some idea of any trends to rapid registration. Numbers are tiny for this period but a few rapid registrants are coming forward. (In sum, residency by period of immigration is a major independent variable.) In this regard, it is like the age or life cycle variable. We have not pursued a cohort analysis, where we control in the remaining tables by period of immigration, since a much larger subsample would be needed to pursue four-way analysis.

### 3.42 Personal attributes

Among the personal attributes examined, gender is the most routine. Table 19 indicates that while there is virtually no variation for the United Kingdom group, the Greek and Italian males are more likely to be Canadian citizens. There is, by implication, a greater aggregate pool of females with potential to become registrants for these groups. For the Portuguese and Spanish group this relationship is reversed.

Table 20 contains some surprising relationships. To be married

Table 19    Citizenship status by sex for adults with five year residency  
in target groups, Toronto Census Metropolitan area 1971 in  
percent

Target group	Male		Female		(n)
	Can. cit	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit	
	%	%	%	%	
United Kingdom	61.7	38.3	62.4	37.6	(1,985)
Greece	59.2	40.8	50.9	49.1	( 252)
Italy	52.4	47.6	42.2	57.8	(1,176)
Portugal and Spain	33.3	66.7	41.1	58.9	( 151)

Source:    Statistics Canada, 1971 Public Use Sample tape

is largely a deterrent to becoming a Canadian citizen. Single persons, by choice or chance, have Canadian citizenship in greater proportions. This is especially notable for the widowed United Kingdom group, where age is again at play, the single and widowed Greeks, the single Portuguese and Spanish, and the divorced and separated United Kingdom and Italian groups. We would argue that this is a consequence of the dual citizenship status which can be arranged through marriage. That is, in a marriage one partner may retain a former citizenship, and the other may become Canadian. This leaves all options open for return migration, double migration, or permanent settlement since many countries honour legal citizenship through the status of any one marriage partner.

Table 20 Citizenship status by marital status for adults with five year residency in target groups, Toronto Census Metropolitan area 1971 in percent

Target group	Single		Married		Widowed		Divorced		Separated	
	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	(n)
United Kingdom	55.9	44.1	57.3	42.7	87.2	12.8	60.7	39.3	58.9	41.1 (1,985)
Greece	68.2	31.8	52.4	47.6	85.7	14.3	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0 ( 252)
Italy	46.2	53.8	47.6	52.4	48.7	51.3	66.7	33.3	100.0	0.0 (1,176)
Portugal and Spain	54.5	45.5	35.3	64.7	33.3	66.7	100.0	0.0	33.3	66.7 ( 151)

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Public Use Sample tape

Table 21    Citizenship status by household relation for adults with five year residency in target groups, Toronto Census Metropolitan Area, 1971 in percent

Target group	Head		Wife		Other		
	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	(n)
United Kingdom	66.9	33.1	53.7	46.3	65.2	34.8	(1,985)
Greece	60.3	39.7	50.0	50.0	53.3	46.7	( 252)
Italy	54.6	45.4	42.0	58.0	43.8	56.3	(1,176)
Portugal and Spain	35.4	64.6	44.6	55.4	26.7	73.3	( 151)

Source:    Statistics Canada, 1971 Public Use Sample tape

A third personal attribute noted in Table 21 is the household relationship. This variable is really a blend of gender and marital status. The male heads of households dominate the proportions with Canadian citizenship with two notable exceptions. The "other" category for the United Kingdom group likely contains many of the widowed, single, divorced, and separated individuals from Table 20. Their high proportions shown in Table 20, are carried over into Table 21. Also, we must note that for the Portuguese and Spanish group the wives are much more likely to be Canadian citizens.

Lastly, we should look again at the age distribution, as we did in Table 16, but this time deleting those who had less than



Table 22    Citizenship status by age groups for adults with five year residency in target groups, Toronto Census Metropolitan Area 1971, in percent

Target group	Age 21 to 35		Age 36 to 50		Age 51		(n)
	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
United Kingdom	30.9	69.1	49.6	50.4	81.5	18.5	(1,985)
Greece	46.4	53.6	56.5	43.5	75.0	25.0	( 252)
Italy	40.9	59.1	52.2	47.8	54.1	45.9	(1,176)
Portugal and Spain	29.7	70.3	43.9	56.1	38.1	61.9	( 151)

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Public Use Sample tape

five years of residency and those under age 21. Table 22 displays the relatively smooth increases in Canadian citizenship with age, which are again more pronounced for the United Kingdom and Greek groups. We suggest that the leveling in the Italian group, and the decline in the Portuguese and Spanish group for age 51 plus, result from greater proportions in this age group with relatively recent periods of immigration. This is an artifact of the migration of the parents of many established immigrant families who wish to have the whole family together again. These more elderly immigrants, we suggest, are highly unlikely to change their citizenship.

### 3.43 Literacy level

Getting naturalization contains two procedural elements which are unavoidable. Some knowledge of Canada is necessary and some facility in one of the official languages is required. The ability to get this knowledge often rests on an individual's perception of their possible ease of comprehension. We would expect that the level of education might determine any resistance to "knowing about Canada". Table 23 confirms this but only for the Greece, Italy, and the Portugal and Spain groups. It is also evident that the level of skill determining this relation is at the juncture between grade and high school. University training either adds few Canadian citizens or generally deters entry<sup>1</sup> somewhat. Of particular interest is the higher proportion of Canadians in the United Kingdom group (82%) with low levels of education. Some of this may stem from the differences in the definition of grade or primary school for the United Kingdom group. Further, entry into the higher forms in the United Kingdom has been historically controlled. These considerations aside, this correlation is notable as the strongest relationship so far established for the United Kingdom group.

The census utilizes a question to establish the language of the home. We had expected to find few cell entries for the use of English or French in the home for the Italians, Greeks and Portuguese. In fact, the smallest cell contained 12 cases for the Portuguese with foreign citizenship and official language use from their subgroup total of 151.

<sup>1</sup> Raw numbers are very small for the groups other than the U.K. group.

Table 23 Citizenship status by level of schooling for adults with five year residency in target groups, Toronto Census Metropolitan Area 1971 in percent

Target group	Grade school or less		Some or all high school		Some or all university		(n)
	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
United Kingdom	81.9	18.1	54.9	45.1	57.2	42.8	(1,985)
Greece	54.0	46.0	60.9	39.1	50.0	50.0	( 252)
Italy	43.4	56.6	64.5	35.5	65.0	35.0	(1,176)
Portugal and Spain	33.6	66.4	48.6	51.4	33.3	66.7	( 151)

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Public Use Sample tape

We can assume these proportional differences in Table 24 are reasonably safe for interpretation. The correlation of official language use with naturalization is very strong. Use of one of the official languages in the home is a powerful index of assimilation for immigrant groups.

The relationship is displayed again in Table 25. The 1971 census asked individuals if they had even minimal official language skills. This was defined in the census question as the ability to carry on a simple conversation in English or French. Those without official language skills are seriously limited in their access to citizenship. What is more disturbing, however, is the admission by individuals that they have citizenship but cannot report any official language facility. This is based on their own personal assessment of their skills, but Citizen-

Table 24 Citizenship status by language of the home for adults with five year residency in target groups, Toronto Census Metropolitan Area 1971 in percent

Target group	Official language		Other language		(n)
	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	
	%	%	%	%	
United Kingdom	-	-	-	-	(1,985)
Greece	70.6	29.4	51.7	48.3	( 252)
Italy	78.2	21.8	42.5	57.5	(1,176)
Portugal and Spain	57.1	42.9	32.5	67.5	( 151)

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Public Use Sample tape

ship Branch should evaluate this evidence in light of the language skill requirements. In passing it should also be noted that, in both tables 24 and 25, the Greeks seem the least likely to let the official language requirement deter their drive to citizenship.

#### 3.44 Census socioeconomic status gradients

A structural examination of citizenship correlates would not be complete without determining any possible relationship between socioeconomic status and citizenship. We look first at labour force status in Table 26. Getting and holding jobs may have implications for citizenship. These appear from the table to be minor and proportions for the unemployed Portuguese and Spanish are small numerically and should be discounted. The most noticeable distinction occurs for the Greeks.

Table 25 Citizenship status by official language skills for adults with five year residency in target groups, Toronto Census Metropolitan Area 1971 in percent

Target group	Official skills		No official skills		(n)
	Can. cit.	For. cit	Can. cit.	For. cit	
	%	%	%	%	
United Kingdom	-	-	-	-	(1,985)
Greece	58.2	41.8	37.5	62.5	( 252)
Italy	56.7	43.3	26.9	73.1	(1,176)
Portugal and Spain	39.5	60.5	28.1	71.9	( 151)

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Public Use Sample tape

Table 26 Citizenship status by labour force status for adults with five year residency in target groups, Toronto Census Metropolitan Area 1971 in percent

Target group	Employed		Unemployed		Not in force		(n)
	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
United Kingdom	52.2	47.8	49.0	51.0	75.5	24.5	(1,985)
Greece	54.0	46.0	40.0	60.0	61.8	38.2	( 252)
Italy	49.7	50.3	45.3	54.7	43.8	56.2	(1,176)
Portugal and Spain	34.3	65.7	0.0	100.0	45.5	54.5	( 151)

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Public Use Sample tape

Employment is a determinant but being out of the labour force altogether is a greater determinant of Canadian citizenship. This would appear



to contradict the earlier evidence that among the Greeks, male heads of households are more likely to be citizens. We suggest that age is the variable at work. Substantial proportions of retired Greeks in the population are citizens. The rise in "out of labour force" United Kingdom persons with Canadian citizenship is likely subject to the same effect.

Table 27 has taken a number of occupational classes offered in the census and reduced them to three clusters. In this analysis, patterns of citizenship for the United Kingdom group are least influenced by occupational class and the Italians are the most affected. There is small numeric representation in the professional and technical class for some of these nationalities. A better way of examining the table is to focus on the Blue Collar, White Collar distinction. There is no change across classes for the United Kingdom and Greek groups. Higher proportions of Canadian citizens occur for the Italian white collar class. This is one of the strongest correlates found for the Italians. The Portuguese are moderately, but still inversely, correlated by occupational class. The increase in proportions of citizens for the "Not app." category is again, we suggest, a consequence of older age groups. Occupational status appears to work quite selectively and we, had expected stronger correlates.

One of the suspicions raised from observation of Table 27, is that occupational status may be a poor index of socioeconomic status for immigrant groups. We have hypothetically inferred that better structural positions in the society would lead to Canadian citizenship. If jobs are not related to higher status in society, perhaps income

Table 27 Citizenship status by occupational status for adults with five year residency in target groups, Toronto Census Metropolitan Area 1971 in percent

Target group	Prof. and tech.		White collar		Blue collar		Not app.		
	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	(n)
United Kingdom	58.1	41.9	51.7	48.3	51.4	48.6	76.2	23.8	(1,985)
Greece	62.5	37.5	53.8	46.2	52.6	47.4	62.5	37.5	( 252)
Italy	75.0	25.0	74.8	25.2	44.7	55.3	42.7	57.3	(1,176)
Portugal and Spain	40.0	60.0	30.8	69.2	37.3	62.7	38.0	62.0	( 151)

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Public Use Sample tape

may be, or again the hypothesis may be false. Table 28 and Table 29 elaborate the extent to which income matters. The relationships are all strong but highly differentiated. The United Kingdom and the Portugal and Spain groups display a curvilinear distribution. Low and high income groups contain more Canadian citizens. The Greeks and Italians have strong linear relationships, as the income group gets higher, so do the proportions of citizens. This is especially marked among the Greeks. These income gradients have greater explanatory power than occupational status does, and we tend to favor them as the most adequate index of

Table 28 Citizenship status by personal income level for adults with five year residency in target groups, Toronto Census Metropolitan Area 1971 in percent

Target group	No income		Low income		Lower middle		Upper middle		High income		
	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	(n)	
United Kingdom	49.5	50.5	69.5	30.5	54.5	45.5	59.2	40.8	73.1	26.9	(1,985)
Greece	45.0	55.0	52.8	47.2	57.1	42.9	84.6	15.4	100.0	0.0	( 252)
Italy	39.5	60.5	43.7	56.3	53.2	46.8	62.9	37.1	71.4	28.6	(1,176)
Portugal and Spain	41.2	58.8	45.8	54.2	28.6	71.4	22.2	77.8	50.0	50.0	( 151)

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Public Use Sample tape

Table 29 Citizenship status by family income level for adults with five year residency in target groups, Toronto Census Metropolitan Area 1971 in percent

Target group	Not census family		Low income		Lower middle		Upper middle		High income		(n)
	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
United Kingdom	75.1	24.9	69.1	30.9	54.5	45.5	51.6	48.4	68.7	31.3	(1,985)
Greece	68.8	31.3	40.8	59.2	55.4	44.6	80.0	20.0	88.9	11.1	( 252)
Italy	48.2	51.8	43.5	56.5	45.6	54.4	54.5	45.5	76.9	23.1	(1,176)
Portugal and Spain	42.9	57.1	37.2	62.8	34.4	65.6	40.7	59.3	33.3	66.7	( 151)

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Public Use Sample tape

socioeconomic status. It should be noted that the cutting points for these income levels were set quite low. High income began at \$20,000 for families, and \$15,000 for individuals. But that was 1971.

### 3.5 Implications

We will briefly examine a few salient features of this analysis. Age, sex, official language skills, period since immigration, and personal income are the most powerful structural correlates of variation. Two of these variables biologically structure an individual's relations in a society and the other three culturally adjust individuals to patterns of assimilation. They are all linked to status and prestige in society. The most marked overall trend in the data is that citizenship is the consequence of status integration into the majority society in other spheres of life. These data cast into question the idea that people become citizens because they are personally motivated. We will not argue that the structural determinants of citizenship are sufficient, but as with the demographic data, if we had no other source, we would have to use these data as guides.

Models or patterns for each particular group using these inferences will be pursued after some attention is given to the survey.



#### 4 TORONTO SURVEY

##### 4.1 Introduction to survey analysis

Survey research in the social sciences, a widely used technique for the systematic gathering of evidence from a sample of individuals, has two particular uses. First, it allows point estimates for the distribution of an attribute or an attitude in a defined population. This use is widely employed by a variety of organizations and individuals in public and private research. Such work is done to find out about new trends and population characteristics (e.g. voting polls), or to monitor or update previously gathered information (eg. Statistics Canada labour force surveys). A second use for surveys is the testing of research hypotheses in a certain defined population. This is possible because the random sample selection procedure allows the proper use of statistical and correlation techniques. This second use tends to involve inference and confirmation and is performed more often by institutional researchers than by private organizations.

Survey analysis has a number of drawbacks. No sample to population estimation technique will yield perfect results. In this particular research though the advantages outweigh the problems. Since 1971, no new census data on citizenship has been collected and none will be forthcoming until the 1981 census is analysed. A survey provides us with point estimates on the citizenship process, as an intercensal guide. In this way the survey acts as a tool to update our knowledge from the 1971 data found in Chapter 3. A survey also allows us to

gather a range of informants' opinions, attitudes, and behaviors on the place and process of citizenship in immigrant life. This, to our knowledge, has not been done before, at least not systematically. Previous surveys have been done on immigrant populations<sup>1</sup> and questions on citizenship status have been included but no survey has yet focused entirely on citizenship and its relation to other immigrant experiences. Much of the information gathered is new information about the character of citizenship. This survey has also allowed us to gather a range of information on various immigrant experiences and perceptions. In designing the survey we wished to explore a number of hypothetical status relations that could exist between the immigrant and the majority Canadian society. This was done to test the general idea that taking out citizenship papers is both a consequence of establishing fuller participation in Canada, and of being granted fuller participation in Canada.

#### 4.2 Basic characteristics of the sample

The data for this chapter's analysis are taken from information obtained from 644 respondents selected by a stratified multistage random selection process (Appendix 1). The target population was defined as all those United Kingdom, Greek, Italian or Portuguese immigrants, age 18 or older with five years<sup>2</sup> residency in Canada, and living in high residential density census tract areas of Metropolitan Toronto. The

<sup>1</sup>See particularly the work of Richmond (1967) and O'Bryan et al. (1976).

<sup>2</sup>This study was done before the implementation of the new three year residency rule.

survey instrument along with raw marginals can be found in Appendix 2.

The sample has proved to be amply representative. Table 30 gives the basic distribution of individual cases by nationality of origin and citizenship status. This data is compared with data extracted from census sample Table 17, where the distributions are also for adults with five year residency.<sup>1</sup> The differences over time for the United Kingdom<sup>2</sup> group is virtually nil. Similarly the difference between the 1971 census count and the Italian subsample is very small. The Greeks have the highest proportional difference for the two time points, but it is in the predicted direction. That is, more Greeks in the survey sample count are now Canadian citizens. From our earlier discussion, the Greeks are the only group for which we could reasonably expect the proportions to change markedly in the five year interval. We suggest that as a point estimate, the survey sample proportions are now the likely distribution for citizenship among the Greek immigrant group. We would not assert this if the correspondence between the other groups were not as close as it turned out to be. Similarly the survey sample data imply a minor proportional decline over time in the Portuguese

<sup>1</sup> The Public Use Sample contains two deviations from our survey sample design. First it covers all of C.M.A. Toronto whereas the survey sample only covers limited geographic areas and secondly it is based on ages 21 and over, instead of 18 and over as in the survey sample. The definition of an adult has changed in the interim. Neither of these factors should greatly influence differences in the proportions.

<sup>2</sup> Defined in the survey as a pool of respondents from England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales.

Table 30 Sample cases by nationality of origin and citizenship status compared with public use sample data for 1971 in percent

Origin	Citizenship status	Cases	% of total sample	% of nationality subsample	1971 P.U.S. % of nationality subsample
			%	%	%
United Kingdom	Canadian citizen	113	17.5	62.0	62.1
	Foreign citizen	69	10.7	38.0	37.9
Italian	Canadian citizen	88	13.7	48.8	47.8
	Foreign citizen	92	14.3	51.2	52.2
Greek	Canadian citizen	84	13.0	64.1	55.6
	Foreign citizen	47	7.3	35.9	44.4
Portuguese	Canadian citizen	53	8.2	35.3	37.1
	Foreign citizen	98	15.2	64.7	62.9
Total Canadian citizen		339	52.6		55.9
Total Foreign citizen		305	47.4		44.1
Grand total		644			

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

with citizenship. This may reflect a decline of registrations for the Portuguese. We suggest this may be a result of the political uncertainty in Portugal during the recent five year interval, for those anticipating return migration.

Table 31 Respondent characteristics (N = 644)

---

A Respondent's sex	
Male	54.5%
Female	45.5%
B Respondent's age	
Range 18 to 88	
Mean 44.7	
Median 38	
Modes 28 and 36	
C Relation of respondent to head of house	
Head	54.0%
Spouse	33.2%
Child	9.5%
Other related	2.5%
Other non-related	0.8%
D Respondent's country of birth	
England	15.7%
N. Ireland	3.3%
Scotland	8.7%
Wales	0.6%
Italy	28.0%
Greece	20.3%
Portugal	23.4%
E Respondent's year of immigration	
Range 1901 to 1971	
Median 1960	
Mode 1966	

---

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data



Table 32 Household characteristics (N = 644)

A	Sex of head of household		
	Male	91.5%	
	Female	8.5%	
B	Age of head of house		
	Range 22 to 88		
	Mean 45.9		
	Median 43.3		
	Mode 38		
C	Country of citizenship of head of house		
	Canada	52.3%	
	Other	47.7%	
D	Size of household		
	One	5.9%	
	Two	20.2%	
	Three	19.7%	
	Four	27.8%	
	Five	13.2%	
	Six	6.4%	
	7 or more	6.9%	
E	Number of children		
	None	37.6%	
	One	19.1%	
	Two	28.0%	
	Three	9.3%	
	Four or More	6.0%	

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

Under the constraints imposed by the sample design we consider the sample fit to 1971 population proportions to be excellent. For the purposes of this report we have used unweighted sample data exclusively without recourse to population-weighted data.

Males were 54.5% of the sample. This is a minor over-representation of males since we have a calculated census sample estimate for these groups of 48.9% males. Ages ranged from 18 to 88 with a mean of 41.7 years, a median of 38 years, and modes of 28 and 36. Table 31 provides a summary of the more basic respondent characteristics in the sample. Table 32 supplements this, and supplies the distributions of a number of household characteristics in the sample.

#### 4.3 Experiences with the citizenship process

##### 4.31 Those with papers

One of the functions of this survey was to obtain from respondents certain information bearing on their actual potential experiences with the Citizenship Registration Branch administrative apparatus. Since an independent institute was gathering the data, a fairly objective view of the bureaucratic process could be elicited from the respondents.

Certain preconceptions often colour our reflections on the encounters between individuals and administrative offices of the state. Some commentators have remarked on the existence of red tape as a social problem (Gouldner 1952). Our data indicate that whatever other failings Citizenship Registration Branch may have, it elicits few

negative reactions among those it processes.

We asked all those who had taken out citizenship if they had encountered any difficulties during their processing. Over 93% of this subsample claimed there were no problems associated with getting Canadian citizenship. Of the 6.6% (n = 22) who had some trouble, only 14 could actually remember concrete reasons for the difficulties they encountered. The majority of the reasons given<sup>1</sup> cited trouble in learning an official language as the principal source of difficulty. Among those who found language a problem, there were several Greeks. This is likely associated with the difficulty of learning languages which are outside the root sources of one's mother tongue.

In sum, for those who have taken out citizenship, the entire procedure, and this must include all aspects from filing forms to the court appearance, is claimed to be relatively problem free. Reports of problems in meeting the language requirement are fewer than this investigator had anticipated. We might suggest that the learning of English or French in language classes for potential citizens has become minimally important. In this context what is sought by the incumbent is not fluency but certification.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the reports in our data of problems in learning an official language may stem directly from a landed immigrant's failure to exploit that distinction.

<sup>1</sup> Transcriptions of open-end questions are found in Appendix D of the final working research report.

<sup>2</sup> Under the 1947 Citizenship Act, there were statutory exemptions; under the 1977 Citizenship Act, the Minister has statutory discretion to waive the language requirement in case of special hardship.

#### 4.32 Those being processed

Of the foreign citizens in our sample, we would expect to find a certain proportion who are presently going through the procedures to obtain citizenship. Indeed, 9.2% of the individuals with foreign citizenship were being processed during the field work stage of the survey. It can be inferred from this, that within the Toronto adult landed immigrant population, who have met the residency requirement, about 8 to 10% are at any given time being dealt with by the Citizenship Registration Branch. This observation is dependent on the plausibility of allowing the four selected groups to represent, by both size and rate of entry, all the Toronto immigrant groups. Given the effects of averaging across groups, we expect the generalization is not unwarranted.

Again, we asked the few respondents ( $n = 24$ ), who were being processed at the time of the study, if the necessary administrative routine presented difficulties. In this small subsample, 66.7% claimed they were having no problems; 33.3% ( $n = 8$ ) mentioned a few difficulties. Again, we found that the language requirement was the principal source of concern. As in a previous finding, learning an official language seems to create special problems for the Greeks.. Half of those who cited possible language learning difficulties were Greek. We are dealing in tiny numbers here, and the general impression we gain is that the present administrative process of citizenship seems streamlined to please. This is a notable response from the sample and dispels any myth that immigrants without official

language skills may often be less than enthused in their encounters with government offices and bureaucratic routine.

Of considerable importance in this regard is the fact that of eight landed immigrants, who were experiencing difficulty with the citizenship process, only two had been discouraged to the point where they would terminate their path to Canadian citizenship. One might have expected a greater attrition rate even as a result of idiosyncratic change.

#### 4.33 Potential citizens

Of considerable interest to the Citizenship Registration Branch are the intentions of landed immigrants about becoming Canadian citizens. In the landed immigrant subsample, 271 respondents had not made any move to register but when directly questioned 80% of these respondents claimed that they anticipated entering the Canadian citizenship stream. This proportion varied somewhat by specific immigrant group. For instance, the United Kingdom landed immigrants had the lowest potential for registration. Only 62% of the United Kingdom group claimed they were going to get their papers. Among the Greeks, 92% said they were going to register. In the Italian group 90% intended to register. The Portuguese fell somewhere in the middle; 79% claimed they would become citizens.

These intentions may be laudable but some index of the strength of these intentions can be ascertained only by examining when the



Table 33 Length of time suggested until registration for landed immigrants by group in percent

Sample group	Period to registration			(n)
	Year or less	Two to 10 years	Don't know	
	%	%	%	
United Kingdom	62.5	20.0	17.5	(40)
Italian	37.8	40.5	21.6	(74)
Greek	62.2	29.7	8.1	(37)
Portuguese	54.0	38.1	7.9	(63)
Total	51.4	34.1	14.5	(214)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

respondents intend to apply for citizenship (Appendix 2, Q.12) Admittedly, this is a rough estimation of strength of conviction, as intentions are not always converted into actions. Table 33 gives us a distribution of the length of time suggested by those who are landed until they become full citizens. We have reduced the data to three groups. Those who specified within a year or less. Those who said between 2 to 10 years and those who claimed an interest, but did not know when registration would occur.

The Italians clearly deferred the time of registration. Over half of this group anticipates registration in the period up to and including one year from now. Of the four groups, 14.5% expect to take out

citizenship, but cannot determine when. These data are much like a sliding index. The closer the time given is to the present, the greater the potential for registration. The categories in Table 33 were a response to the fairly clear demarcation between the numbers in the sample who indicated within the next year, and the numbers who stipulated from two to an unknown number of years. These data would suggest that under present conditions the 51.4% (first year or less) are probably the pool from which the majority of potential registrants will emerge.

Among the landed immigrants some 20% claimed they will not become citizens. We tried to determine from these respondents the main reason for not taking out Canadian citizenship (Appendix 2, Q. 13). About 75% of this group had certain reasons for their resistance but the reasons varied by immigrant group. Among the United Kingdom group old age was frequently cited. Reports of "I am too old to bother now" were frequent. Also for this group several respondents felt that it has never been historically necessary and is of little significance to them. These two variables interact, in that their past experiences of not requiring citizenship likely convince the older respondents that registration is a trivial affair, and their age, then, becomes a simple crutch of justification.

Among the Italians the requirement of official language skills was cited as a deterrent but these were numerically few. The Greeks were conspicuous by their relative absence in answers to this question, but return migration was frequently referred to both directly and indirectly. The Portuguese, however, implied that some of them have

little avowed interest in Canadian citizenship. They expressed their strong ties with Portugal, and their being Portuguese, which precludes much interest in things Canadian. Coupled with this were a few comments expressing a general desire not to tamper with avenues for return migration.

Overall, the United Kingdom respondents were the most likely to reason themselves out of the citizenship stream, and they were followed numerically by the Portuguese. The reasons, however, were of a highly diverse character. The United Kingdom group reasoned that there was no immediate advantage; and the Portuguese, that there was in fact some disadvantage.

Speculation was encouraged from respondents over what sorts of changes might encourage citizenship registration. Such a speculative question (Appendix 2, Q.14) was posed to those who had neither registered nor received their papers. Only 71 of the 305 foreign citizens could suggest changes and few could be described as truly thoughtful. Since the answers are qualitative, they are best dealt with by thematic subset.

Several respondents declared that if the official language restriction were lifted this would encourage registration. Several respondents stated they could think of no useful changes except the lifting of the official language requirement. Under the conditions, this answer may have been given as much out of the need to supply a response as it was out of any conviction. In this question, since official language skill was not fixed upon as a point of contention,

it likely is not generally viewed as a deterrent.

A second area for suggested change concerned various reports on the difficulties which adults have learning certain facts for the citizenship interview with the judge. These might be termed the projected hazards of adult immigrant education. Some respondents felt that this requirement could be jettisoned but as with official language skill there were not many who fixed on this point.

A third argument for change was one of simple convenience. Some respondents felt that if the offices were around the corner, or the registration forms were to appear at their door, there would be more potential registrations. We suggest that convenient outlets can only accompany the distribution of essential goods and services in a society. If obtaining citizenship were declared essential, some impetus might emerge for the adequate use of such specialized facilities.

A few respondents noted that some employers provide only a day off during processing. This was deemed inadequate by some respondents. They felt that the employer should be more responsive.

The themes noted above dealt with procedural changes. The final theme called for changes based on status discrimination. A few respondents felt that greater differentiation between landed immigrants and citizens, in terms of the benefits received and the opportunities available, was needed to spur citizenship. This is a simple reward model. The suggestions take several forms from the restriction of jobs to the carrying of identification cards. What is most remarkable about these suggestions is that they come from landed immigrants themselves. One would not normally expect the potential subordinates of a coercive policy to be the ones who would suggest it.

#### 4.34 Citizenship stream images

We must now evaluate the idea that the process of citizenship manifests a certain image in the minds of both landed immigrants and the naturalized who have been processed. With many government applications there may be held in common some general notion of the amount of time involved in the processing of an application. This seems also to be true of the process of naturalization. Among all the respondents the modal reply indicated that about three months were needed to get citizenship. In the total sample, 86% of the respondents, estimated between one and six months. Some variation was evident though between those with citizenship and landed immigrants. For example, we grouped into intervals those who said one and two months, three months, four to six months, and seven or more months. The United Kingdom group with citizenship fell predominantly in the shortest interval, which is a reflection of their past experience under the 1946 Citizenship Act, where a court appearance was not necessary for British subjects. The Italians, Greeks and Portuguese with citizenship stated three months as a mode. Italians without Canadian citizenship either thought processing was quite rapid, one month, or that it took about six months. The Greeks and Portuguese without Canadian citizenship thought it would take between three and six months. The Portuguese without Canadian citizenship were also noted as the group with the largest proportion who felt getting papers would take a long period of time.

A high profile for personnel of the Department of the Secretary of State has been encouraged in the urban ethnic communities in recent



years with the establishment of field offices. In the total subsample of Italians, Greeks and Portuguese, a certain number, some 14.1% (N = 65), were aware of these field offices. The Italians were generally the most aware of their presence. The Portuguese without Canadian citizenship were the second most aware and the Greeks without Canadian citizenship were the least aware of the field offices.

The 65 individuals who were aware of community workers were asked the source of their knowledge. Table 34 gives the survey counts for these respondents.

Table 34 Group survey counts by source of Citizenship Registration Branch contact

	Community organizations	Radio and TV	Informal contact	Church or social agency	Other and D.K.	Totals
Italians	5	18	5	2	3	33
Greeks	7	2	3	1	3	16
Portuguese	5	4	2	3	2	16
Totals	17	24	10	6	8	65

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

Most of this general awareness is through media contact but this source is only of significance for the Italians. In part this undoubtedly reflects the general orientation of the ethnic community radio station CHIN to the Metropolitan Italian population. Italians with Canadian citizenship most frequently cited radio and TV as the principal source

of their awareness of field officers. Among the Greeks with Canadian citizenship, however, community organizations were cited as the main source of their awareness. On the one hand, Table 34 can be seen as an outcome of previous and present policy of the Department of the Secretary of State, and, on the other hand, it can be seen as suggestive of further fruitful avenues of contact.

The Citizenship Registration Branch can also project an image of the overall availability of citizenship in the society. One of the agree-disagree questions asked respondents to react to this item: obtaining Canadian citizenship should be more difficult than it is at present. Only 30% of the respondents agreed and they were predominately within the United Kingdom group. The respondents who strongly agreed were United Kingdom immigrants who had become Canadian citizens. In this regard, British subjects have had the simpler registration procedure to follow. Either the procedure was deemed too easy or not sufficiently symbolic or, possibly, the British with Canadian citizenship in the sample were expressing majority Canadian attitudes toward other immigrants. We will treat this theme again in the next section.

#### 4.4 Citizenship knowledge base

##### 4.41 Procedural knowledge

Acquiring the legal status of Canadian citizen involves certain procedures. These procedures may lodge in the memories of those who have made the status change or they may be forgotten. The procedures

may also be anticipated by landed immigrants or they may not be aware of their existence. Essentially, the knowledge of these procedures is knowledge of the rules which govern the attainment of full citizenship.

For this study we selected a series of criteria or rules which must be met by those who wish to become citizens. Some of these items, it would be expected, would be more widely cited than others. Respondents were asked, using a probe question (Appendix 2, Q.4), the things that a person has to do in order to become a citizen. Table 35 ranks the items cited by proportion mentioned for the entire sample. These items were not read to the respondents, but were volunteered by them.

Table 35 Proportional rank order of cited procedural knowledge in percent

Citations by respondents		%	(n)
1	Must have some knowledge of Canada	54.5	(351)
2	Must make personal application at court or office	46.1	(297)
3	Must wait 5 years (3 accepted)* before applying	40.2	(259)
4	Must swear allegiance	38.0	(245)
5	Must pay \$15.00	16.9	(109)
6	Must be able to speak either English or French	16.0	(103)
7	Must have a court hearing	13.8	( 89)
8	Must appear at a public ceremony	6.5	( 42)
9	Must have resided in Canada for 12 of the last 18 months	2.3	( 15)

\* Alternatives were available because of 1977 changes in the Citizenship Act.

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

This distribution is a rough index of the perception of procedural knowledge about citizenship in the immigrant population. In general, the level of knowledge could be termed moderate. It is evident, for instance, that the process of learning about Canada (ranked first) far outclasses the official language learning component (ranked sixth). The low ranking of the public ceremony is surprising. This can be countered by noting the frequency of the item "swear allegiance". Since respondents volunteered these categories, we have to conclude that it is not the ceremony or appearance which tends to stick in the memory, but rather the oath.

Table 36 distributes the proportions as they were initially rank ordered across the ethnic groups and distinguished by Canadian and foreign citizenship. As expected, the citizens have generally more procedural knowledge than do the landed immigrants, except for the United Kingdom group where knowledge is independent of citizenship status. Several discrepancies in the proportions bear note. The Italians without Canadian citizenship are the least aware of the residency requirements. The Greeks of either citizenship status are the most aware of the residency rule. Since the Greeks have high relative speed of entry into the citizenship stream this may reflect encounters or concern over this rule. The Italians are most emphatic that becoming a Canadian involves learning about Canada. The Greeks, however, focus on the oath of allegiance. We might speculate that this underscores a difference for distinct ethnic groups, between the acquired beliefs of citizenship and the behavioural act of citizenship.

Table 36 Cited procedural knowledge by group and citizenship status in percent

Citation	Canadian citizen				Foreign citizen			
	U.K. (113) %	Italian (88) %	Greek (84) %	Port. (53) %	U.K. (69) %	Italian (92) %	Greek (47) %	Port. (98) %
1 Knowledge of Canada	21.2	85.2	71.4	71.7	31.9	56.5	57.4	54.1
2 Personal application	41.6	53.4	59.5	56.6	37.7	42.4	53.2	33.7
3 Wait 5 years	34.5	47.7	58.3	41.5	30.4	20.7	55.3	41.8
4 Swear allegiance	42.5	51.1	72.6	32.1	44.9	15.2	19.1	20.4
5 Pay 10 dollars	14.2	36.4	31.0	5.7	13.0	12.0	17.0	4.1
6 Speak official language	14.2	17.0	9.5	26.4	10.1	14.1	21.3	20.4
7 Court hearing	8.0	23.9	19.0	22.6	8.7	7.6	6.4	15.3
8 Public ceremony*	0.9	21.6	13.1	3.8	0.0	2.2	6.4	4.1
9 In Canada for last 12 of 18 months	4.4	1.1	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.4	2.0

\* For the U.K. group the public ceremony was not required.

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data



#### 4.42 Legal status distinctions

The categories landed immigrant and citizen have certain rights and privileges attached to them. Under Canadian law a landed immigrant is entitled to all the same rights and privileges as a citizen, except that the citizen can vote in federal elections, can run for federal office, and can carry a Canadian passport. Persons frequently are not aware of their legal status privileges. This may be exacerbated in immigrant populations where legal knowledge may be confused with either folk wisdom or false experience.

This immigrant sample was asked if Canadian citizens had the same or more rights as landed immigrants to a variety of societal privileges (Appendix 2, Q. 3). The responses were surprising. Table 37 distributes and rank orders the responses where greater or more rights were perceived as belonging to Canadian citizens. This table requires careful scrutiny lest it be misinterpreted. First of all, we should turn to the total sample distributions. A body of respondents who were completely informed would indicate that Canadian citizens had more rights to items one, two, and three, 100% of the time. In reverse, they would indicate Canadian citizens do not have more rights than landed immigrants to all the other items (4 to 11) 100% of the time. Our sample's knowledge of rights and privileges is far from perfect. In this regard "not knowing" indicated by the category "Don't know" is equally important since the absence of any knowledge is akin to misinformation. These categories indicate the respondent is acting without direct knowledge of legal status. In this respect the items

Table 37 Proportional rank order of more perceived rights by group and citizenship status for the Toronto Survey in percent

Citation	Canadian citizen				Foreign citizen				Total sample (644)			
	U.K. (113)	Italian (88)	Greek (84)	Port. (53)	U.K. (69)	Italian (92)	Greek (47)	Port. (98)	More rights	Same rights	Don't know	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
1 Voting in national elections	51.3	76.1	77.4	84.6	50.7	71.7	72.3	76.3	69.0	24.6	6.4	
2 Voting in city elections	44.2	79.5	79.8	83.0	40.6	76.1	70.2	72.4	67.2	26.7	6.1	
3 Getting a Canadian passport	57.5	71.6	73.8	77.4	65.2	56.5	72.3	64.3	66.0	24.5	9.5	
4 Joining a political party	24.1	42.0	45.2	71.7	20.3	47.8	48.9	46.9	41.5	36.2	22.2	
5 Receiving old age pension	42.5	31.8	42.9	43.4	21.7	31.5	42.6	23.5	34.5	49.5	16.0	
6 Treatment under the law	11.6	29.5	26.5	47.2	8.7	23.9	29.8	21.4	23.2	68.5	8.3	
7 Welfare support	32.7	18.2	27.4	34.0	13.0	12.0	19.1	20.4	22.2	61.3	16.5	
8 Receiving unemployment insurance	20.4	21.6	19.0	20.8	13.0	18.5	17.0	11.2	17.7	73.0	9.3	
9 Owning property in Canada	18.6	20.5	11.9	20.8	2.9	15.2	10.6	15.3	14.9	81.4	3.7	
10 Moving to another province	8.0	14.8	11.9	18.9	4.3	19.6	12.8	8.2	12.0	80.0	8.1	
11 Daycare support	10.6	18.2	20.2	18.9	2.9	7.6	4.3	6.1	11.2	56.4	32.5	

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

act as a kind of quiz about legal status and associated privileges. And viewed from such an angle the implications are that many immigrants are quite confused about their positions in society. Several erroneously believe that being landed immigrants supplies them with both the franchise and access to a passport. Many seem to believe that being a citizen contains special privileges, especially those related to social assistance. These data beg us to reiterate W.I. Thomas' dictum that if persons define situations as real they are real in their consequences. This is especially important when we note the combined confusion exhibited over item five, receiving the old age pension. There is evidence here that social security is linked with citizenship, and in the face of advancing age groups in the immigrant sector as well as the general society, this must be dealt with administratively someday.

Turning to the breakdowns in Table 37 by citizenship status and ethnicity a few more clues emerge. Differences in the proportions between the Canadian citizens and the foreign citizens as groups are negligible but two nationality distinctions do emerge. In the first instance, the United Kingdom group with Canadian citizenship distinguishes itself by indicating that they feel citizens have more rights generally, but especially for social assistance items five (pension), seven (welfare) and eight (unemployment). We wonder as to the extent the United Kingdom group with citizenship approximates general majority attitudes in Canadian society. To this extent some of this response may be more a reflection of their feeling that citizens should have more rights as

opposed to do have more rights.<sup>1</sup>

Note should also be made of the Portuguese with Canadian citizenship. This group indicates everytime that Canadian citizens have more rights than immigrants to the entire list of items. Three explanations are possible. One is that they are the most confused group about status rights, even after having obtained citizenship. A second explanation is that after becoming citizens, they quickly adopt a majority attitude which may coincide with the United Kingdom group, i.e., that citizens should have more rights. The third explanation is that although they have obtained citizenship, they still perceive Canadian citizens as a group, apart from themselves, which has more rights. Table 37 indicates that the Portuguese without citizenship are better informed about rights; so we feel that the first explanation is unlikely. We expect the second explanation is also unlikely, unless we can posit that after becoming citizens, rapid chauvinism accelerates a minority group member into a pattern of majority group discrimination. The third explanation rings truest; that is, the Portuguese respondents with citizenship are likely expressing their perception of a favoured status for born citizens in Canadian society.

To emphasize this analysis we have one more item for interpretation. A previous report prepared for the Department of the Secretary of State (1971) argued that the franchise was viewed as the most important component of citizenship rights. We do not deny its importance, but we

<sup>1</sup> The question (Appendix 2, Q.3), however, was phrased in terms of actual rather than hypothetical conditions.

note that the importance varies by ethnic group. Table 38 collapses a five point Likert agree/disagree item which reads: The most important part of Canadian citizenship is that you are allowed to vote.

Table 38 Group proportions in percent for agree/disagree to the voting item

Sample group	Agree	Disagree	
	%	%	(n)
United Kingdom	73.6	26.4	(182)
Italian	83.0	17.0	(180)
Greek	69.0	31.0	(131)
Portuguese	62.5	37.5	(151)
Total	73.2	26.8	(644)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

Clearly, in this sample also, the franchise is important and it dominates the Italian perception, but the Portuguese seem the most insistent that citizenship consists of a lot more than simply getting the vote. This item indicates that the Italians and United Kingdom respondents associate citizenship with legal rights, whereas more of the Greeks and Portuguese may associate citizenship with a way of life.

#### 4.5 Affective components of nationality

##### 4.51 Behavioural indicators

It may be argued that strong sources of affiliation with one's



Table 39 Migration age intervals by citizenship status in percent

Sample group	<u>1-15 years</u>		<u>16-21 years</u>		<u>22-29 years</u>		<u>30-60 years</u>	
	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
United Kingdom	71.2	28.8 (73)	54.1	45.9 (37)	56.8	43.2 (44)	57.1	42.9 (28)
Italian	45.7	54.3 (46)	50.0	50.0 (60)	51.2	48.8 (41)	48.5	51.5 (33)
Greek	76.9	23.1 (13)	53.3	46.7 (30)	60.0	40.0 (55)	75.8	24.2 (33)
Portuguese	38.9	61.1 (36)	23.8	76.2 (21)	36.4	63.6 (55)	35.9	64.1 (34)
Total	57.7	42.3 (168)	48.0	52.0 (148)	50.8	49.2 (195)	53.4	46.6 (133)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

nation of origin could prevent a move to naturalization for the landed immigrant after coming to Canada. The strength of these ties may be best indexed by examining the age of the person when they migrated. It might be expected that the earlier the age at migration the less attached an individual may be to the country of origin. Table 39 distributes intervals for the age of migration across a number of categories. These data are only suggestive, but no systematic effect is evident. In the case of certain extremes, such as the Greeks, who were quite old at age of migration, the hypothesis is rejected. At best, age at migration and any subsequent attachment to the country of origin which age generates have little or no systematic effect on the propensity to naturalize.

A second possible behavioural source of resistance to naturalization would occur if the individual expected that a return to the country of origin was possible. A question was specifically designed to cover this possibility. Table 40 indicates the distribution of propensity for return migration for the landed immigrants in the sample.

Table 40 Landed immigrant group proportions with intentions for return migration in percent

Landed immigrant group	Proportion indicating a return possibility	
	%	(n)
United Kingdom	15.9	(69)
Italian	19.1	(89)
Greek	20.9	(43)
Portuguese	18.3	(93)
Total	18.4	(294)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

Variability is relatively low and we expect that the potential for return is likely also low across other immigrant groups not sampled. But this also indicates that some five year residents are not yet settled in the inclusive sense of that term. Even among those with citizenship some 10% indicated that they felt there was some possibility for return to their country of birth. These unsettled immigrants could be expected to maximize their return options, which objectively means they should maintain their foreign citizenship.

Some immigrants may view residency in Canada as a period of transition. One way to examine this is to determine whether there was another country preferred to Canada, where migration was sought but not accomplished. The data are most interesting. As Table 41

Table 41 Group proportions citing another proposed nation as first choice for migration by citizenship status in percent

Sample group	Proportion citing another nation			
	Can. citizen		For. citizen	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
United Kingdom	24.9	(113)	21.7	(69)
Italian	19.3	( 88)	6.6	(91)
Greek	11.9	( 84)	10.6	(47)
Portuguese	15.4	( 52)	6.1	(98)
Total	18.4	(337)	10.5	(305)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

indicates, for each group among those who have become Canadian citizens there is a higher proportion who considered going, or would have preferred going elsewhere. This suggests that the pool of immigrants with Canadian citizenship contains the highest proportion of those who might be expected to out-migrate. Canadian citizenship may be viewed as a facilitator of more positive assessments by other countries of applications from double or even triple migrants.

#### 4.52 Attitudinal indicators

At the more general level of attitudes, the idea that taking Canadian citizenship might be a deterrent to return migration was also explored (Appendix 2, Q.80b). In general, these attitudes converged with those who we had previously considered as candidates for return migration. In other words, there is no latent group who lives with unexpressed desires to return and has not taken Canadian citizenship in fear of the consequences of severing the foreign citizen knot.

But for many, the thought of national origins contains strong affiliational sentiment. Table 42 examines the importance of national origins for the various groups. The effect of this attitude is variable and if it acts as a deterrent it could only be argued that its effect is substantial on the United Kingdom migrants. With the United Kingdom group though, there is little doubt that symbolic attachment of origins occurs.

Another attitudinal indicator of the strength of national origins was indexed by asking people if they agreed or disagreed with the state-

Table 42 Group proportions for importance of national origins by citizenship status in percent

Sample group	Canadian citizen			Foreign citizen		
	Very imp.	Less imp.		Very imp.	Less imp.	
	%	%	(n)	%	%	(n)
United Kingdom	39.8	60.2	(113)	58.8	41.1	(68)
Italian	42.5	57.5	(87)	45.6	54.4	(90)
Greek	53.8	46.2	(80)	51.1	48.9	(47)
Portuguese	39.2	60.8	(51)	49.5	51.5	(97)
Total	43.8	56.2	(331)	50.6	49.4	(302)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

ment ... "it is difficult for (nationalities) to renounce their citizenship" (Appendix 2, Q.80a). While only 37.6% of the respondents agreed with this item there was wide variability in these responses as given in Table 43.

Table 43 Group proportions agreeing with renunciation item by citizenship status in percent

Sample group	Proportion agreeing			
	Canadian citizen		Foreign citizen	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
United Kingdom	34.8	(112)	69.6	(69)
Italian	30.7	(88)	33.7	(92)
Greek	25.0	(84)	23.4	(47)
Portuguese	35.8	(53)	46.9	(98)
Total	31.4	(337)	44.4	(306)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data



The trend here is confirmation for Table 42. The United Kingdom group who are not Canadians view a symbolic severing of ties with the most concern. In this case, too, the Portuguese also display stronger symbolic national ties.

Strong attachment to the nationality of origin is likely to preclude any move to obtaining Canadian citizenship. We undertook to determine what proportion of those who have not naturalized were absolute die-hards. That is, what proportion would be unlikely to ever make a change because of symbolic attachment. This was done by asking two questions of the landed immigrants. One question asked if they preferred to have a passport from their native country or a Canadian passport. The other question asked if they wished to be known by their original foreign citizenship, as a landed immigrant, or as a Canadian. It is felt that the proportion given in Table 44 represents a pool with very high resistance to a future change in citizenship status.

Table 44 Landed immigrant group proportions preferring original passport and foreign citizenship in percent

Landed immigrant group	Prefer original passport		Prefer foreign citizenship	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
United Kingdom	43.5	(69)	39.7	(68)
Italian	23.1	(91)	17.9	(84)
Greek	17.0	(47)	9.1	(44)
Portuguese	22.7	(97)	27.2	(92)
Total	26.6	(304)	24.7	(288)

Source: 1976 Toronto Sample Survey Data

The resistance increases notably among the United Kingdom migrants. We suggest, however, that these cases are the bottom line. Under the present regulation about 25% of the landed immigrants without Canadian citizenship are deeply committed symbolically to their countries of origin.

#### 4.6 Dimensions of political culture

##### 4.61 Political efficacy

It has been indicated previously that getting citizenship in Canada is largely an artifact of the will to exercise political voice. Indeed, the single most salient legal distinction surrounding the status Canadian citizen is access to the franchise. In this regard, political efficacy as a mechanism for individual attachment and input into a liberal democratic state is strongly linked with the concept of citizenship in nations.

We have attempted to determine the level of political interest and input by our use in the survey of a number of fairly standardized items bearing on the concept of political culture (Almond and Verba 1963). In general, the total sample evidences a moderate level of political interest and involvement. Political efficacy in the general population has four essential layers. The outermost is interest, next comes discussion, in third place comes voting, and the fourth and innermost layer is direct campaign and party involvement. In this sample 7.5% (n = 48) of the respondents had campaigned and 6.7% (n = 43) were members

of a political party. These small subsamples are deemed the most involved politically. Among the party campaigners, nearly half (46%) are United Kingdom immigrants with Canadian citizenship. Of the campaigners 77% had Canadian citizenship; that stills leaves several respondents actively involved in politics, but unnaturalized. Again, among the members of parties, 75% have citizenship, but 25% are not naturalized. The correlation between deep party affiliation and citizenship is strong, but not unambiguous.

The lower levels of involvement are also mixed and even more diffuse as demonstrated by tables 45 and 46. The proportional differences between the citizenship statuses in these tables is less marked than for the highest level of involvement, that is, campaigning and party membership. What is evident is that the United Kingdom migrants have high interest, and the Italians very low interest. The Greeks and Portuguese are not far behind the United Kingdom group in all respects. Note in Table 46, that as political interest becomes more focused (that is, in the distinction between the general discussion of national and provincial political affairs as opposed to discussion of actual parties and candidates), the United Kingdom group increases their interest, while the Greek and Portuguese fade. Since the franchise is linked to the exercise of choice and voice, this decline in the discussion of politically specific topics weakens any correlation between political efficacy and naturalization for the Greeks and Portuguese, but supports it for the United Kingdom group.

The franchise itself provides the best behavioural indicator of the link between naturalization and efficacy. The three most recent

Table 45 Group proportions for levels of political interest by citizenship status in percent

Group	Canadian citizen			Foreign citizen		
	High interest	Low interest		High interest	Low interest	
	%	%	(n)	%	%	(n)
United Kingdom	66.4	33.6	(113)	59.4	40.6	(69)
Italian	32.9	67.1	(88)	26.1	73.9	(92)
Greek	53.7	49.0	(82)	38.5	61.5	(47)
Portuguese	51.0	49.0	(49)	38.5	61.5	(96)
Total	52.2	47.8	(332)	29.2	60.8	(304)

Source: 1976 Toronto Sample Survey Data

elections before the interview period were chosen to solicit respondent recollections of participation. Table 47 provides a breakdown of the voting patterns for the various franchised groups.

Of note is the United Kingdom group. United Kingdom citizens were allowed to vote in Canada without becoming Canadian citizens up to June 26, 1975. Evidently this is a fairly common phenomenon since the voting proportions for United Kingdom respondents with foreign citizenship are higher than for the other groups even after they have naturalized. The voting proportions in the United Kingdom group jump with the reinforcement of taking citizenship. Clearly, there is considerable strength in the relationship of citizenship to the exercise of political voice in Canada. What is unusual is that it acts as the strongest reinforcer in the very group (United Kingdom) which does not have to obtain naturalization in order to exercise voice at the provincial and municipal level

Table 46 Group proportions for frequency of two types of political discussions by citizenship status in percent

Group	Canadian citizen				Foreign citizen				Canadian citizen				Foreign citizen			
	Fre- quent %	Infre- quent %	(n)	%	Fre- quent %	Infre- quent %	(n)	%	Fre- quent %	Infre- quent %	(n)	%	Fre- quent %	Infre- quent %	(n)	%
United Kingdom	67.2	32.8	(113)	65.2	34.8	(69)	69.0	31.0	(113)	68.1	31.9	(69)	65.2	34.8	(88)	65.2
Italian	43.2	56.8	(88)	34.4	65.6	(90)	43.2	56.8	(84)	40.4	59.6	(47)	57.0	43.0	(52)	57.0
Greek	61.8	38.2	(81)	42.6	57.4	(47)	52.3	47.7	(84)	40.4	59.6	(47)	57.0	43.0	(52)	57.0
Portuguese	60.8	39.2	(51)	38.1	61.9	(97)	53.8	46.2	(52)	43.0	57.0	(97)	57.0	43.0	(52)	57.0
Total	58.6	41.4	(333)	43.9	56.1	(303)	55.8	44.2	(337)	46.0	54.0	(305)	54.0	46.0	(337)	54.0

Source: 1976 Toronto Sample Survey Data



Table 47 Group proportions for self reported voting in three elections in percent

Sample group	1974 Municipal election	1975 Provincial election	1974 Federal election	
	%	%	%	(n)
United Kingdom (Canadian citizen)	90.2	93.8	93.8	(113)
United Kingdom (Foreign citizen)	79.7	78.2	72.4	(69)
Italian (Can. cit.)	65.9	79.5	70.4	(88)
Greek (Can. cit.)	54.7	66.6	55.9	(84)
Portuguese (Can. cit.)	56.6	52.8	58.5	(53)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

in Ontario.

In more general terms, the voting proportions seem higher than the generally reported election figures among eligibles. This is particularly true of the record of voter response in Toronto municipal elections which normally fails to rise above 25 to 30% of the eligible voters. Also, the Italian proportions seem quite high given the previous tables we have looked at, where the Italian involvement has been comparatively low. We conclude from these data that the appearance of a questionnaire asking for information on citizenship and voting has created a normative response set which may have inflated the proportions for reported voting. If this is true, there is one dominant conclusion which cannot be avoided. Immigrants in our sample who have obtained citizenship clearly associate this status with a societal obligation to vote. This condition of social obligation, we contend, was then reported to the interviewers.

#### 4.62 Bureaucratic efficacy

We suggest that a second dimension of efficacy in modern societies concerns an individual's ability to deal with large government agencies. For want of a better term we have labelled this bureaucratic efficacy. Within the immigrant population the encounters with large government organizations will be limited to social service and social assistance agencies. This use may be coupled with low or marginal incomes which encourage dependency on social assistance programs. We had tentatively expected that there might be a tendency for those with citizenship to have better effective contact with official government agencies. In this respect, full citizenship might be concomitant with fuller demands on the system of social services. In fact, our data do not support this contention. The overall utilization of social assistance is about equal for foreign citizens and the naturalized. The use of social services while independent of citizenship status is not independent of the socioeconomic status of the overall group. Table 48 rank orders the four immigrant groups in the sample with the proportion using the two major sources of social assistance cited; the Workmen's Compensation Board and the Unemployment Insurance Commission. This rank ordering indicates that these services are being used by a certain proportion of the immigrant community. The use of these services is also in inverse order to the socioeconomic status of each group. Utilization of these services by the United Kingdom group is considerably less. The Italians and Portuguese seem particularly heavy users of the agencies of the welfare society.

Table 48 Groups rank ordered by proportions citing family contact with the Unemployment Insurance Commission and the Workmen's Compensation Board in percent

Sample group	U.I.C.		W.C.B.	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
Portuguese	70.7	(150)	45.6	(149)
Italian	70.6	(180)	47.8	(178)
Greek	67.9	(131)	29.8	(131)
United Kingdom	47.8	(182)	30.2	(182)
Total	63.6	(643)	38.6	(640)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

Another element of bureaucratic efficacy lies in the examination of the treatment accorded a group by officials. A specific item was designed which asked respondents to agree or disagree with this statement: Recent immigrants get less attention from officials than do Canadian citizens. Table 49 explores the variation by citizenship status. This table again generates some inference around the possible patterns of perceived discrimination which we alluded to in section 4.42. The Portuguese with Canadian citizenship are the most assertive about immigrant status degradation. In this respect they respond more like the Italians without Canadian citizenship. Overall the table also indicates that the three foreign language groups, the Italians, Greeks and Portuguese, are much more sensitive to this condition than is the United Kingdom group.

Table 49 Group proportions agreeing to official attention item  
by citizenship status in percent

Sample group	Proportion agreeing with item			
	Canadian citizen		Foreign citizen	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
United Kingdom	16.0	(113)	21.7	(69)
Italian	32.9	(88)	42.4	(92)
Greek	38.1	(84)	38.3	(47)
Portuguese	43.4	(53)	35.7	(98)
Total	35.1	(290)	34.9	(306)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

#### 4.7 Structural and trait characteristics

##### 4.71 Marriage and the spouse

In dealing with the Public Use Sample data in Chapter 3, we dwelt at length on the structural correlates of citizenship. In context it should be noted that the Public Use Sample data gives us a much better estimate of the operation of these characteristics with its larger sample and lower sampling variance. In the survey, it was still necessary to collect data on a number of fairly standard demographic items, and we treat them here as further evidence for the trends established in Chapter 3.

The survey data, as can be seen from Table 50, indicates that

shared-pair citizenship is most frequent for the landed immigrant Portuguese (foreign phased-pair). The Greeks would appear to have a rising affinity for shared-pair naturalized marriages, but the Italians

Table 50 Group proportions with naturalized citizenship of spouse by citizenship status in percent

Sample group	Spouse naturalized			Spouse alien		
	Can. cit.	For. cit.		Can. cit.	For. cit.	
	%	%	(n)	%	%	(n)
United Kingdom	72.3	27.2	(112)	33.3	66.7	(45)
Italian	72.1	27.9	(61)	33.0	67.0	(94)
Greek	81.5	18.5	(65)	40.4	59.6	(57)
Portuguese	78.8	21.2	(33)	19.8	80.2	(91)
Total	75.3	24.9	(271)	30.3	67.7	(287)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

and U.K. groups tend to favour a split-pair arrangement. As we have mentioned before the split-pair arrangement does provide a couple with the maximum number of options. Among cases of low perception of status discrimination, as we will see in a later section, the split-pair arrangement could be viewed as optimum for the Italians. This has obvious repercussions for the total absorptive rate of citizenship entry, which can be reasonably expected among the Italians.

Another marriage factor, which influences the data, is the possible marriage of an immigrant to a person born in Canada. In the sample this



situation only occurs with any regularity among United Kingdom immigrants. Among the naturalized United Kingdom respondents about 50% were married to Canadian born persons. But among the landed United Kingdom respondents, who were married there were over 80% who were married to Canadian born persons. We must speculate here that for the United Kingdom group, marriage to Canadian born persons seems to curtail citizenship entry.

There is passing evidence in the data that shared-pair naturalization may eventually be on the increase. Respondents reported that 50% of the registrations of their spouses had occurred in the last six years (back to 1970). In this respect the naturalized Portuguese show the greatest rate of acceleration in shared-pair naturalized arrangements. For nearly 80% of the naturalized Portuguese with a naturalized spouse, the spouse had obtained citizenship in the last six years. This relationship is most likely a direct product of more recent periods of immigration for the Portuguese.

#### 4.72 Language skills

Our analysis of language use has an automatic control variable in the survey sample. Of the Italian, Greek, and Portuguese respondents 100% spoke the mother tongue of their respective origins. Table 51 gives the frequency of use of mother tongue and the use of English on a daily basis for the three non-English tongue groups.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There are minor discrepancies in Table 51 that derive from its construction from two separate questions.

Table 51 Group proportions for almost always daily use of mother tongue and English by citizenship status in percent

Sample group	Mother tongue				English			
	Can. cit		For. cit.		Can. cit.		For. cit.	
	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
Italian	54.5	(88)	62.0	(92)	45.5	(88)	32.6	(92)
Greek	42.9	(84)	59.6	(47)	46.4	(84)	36.2	(47)
Portuguese	58.5	(53)	64.3	(98)	50.9	(53)	46.9	(98)
Total	51.1	(225)	62.4	(237)	47.1	(225)	39.2	(237)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

Differences are not dramatic but steady and consistent. Certainly the increased use of English by the naturalized confirms the demographic trend noted in Chapter 3, where official language use correlated with naturalization. Language use seems, in the survey, to also be a correlate of current status.

This condition was also confirmed by the observations of our interviewers. Communication in English was necessary for this survey. The interviewers were asked to rate the skills in English of the respondents. Table 52 again demonstrates that official language communication is a status dependent variable. As has been noted previously, the language distinctions take on greater importance in the case of the Greeks.

Table 52 Group proportions where no difficulty and great difficulty was reported by the interviewer in English communication by citizenship status in percent

Sample group	No difficulty				Great difficulty			
	Can. cit.		For. cit.		Can. cit.		For. cit.	
	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
Italian	40.9	(88)	29.3	(92)	22.7	(88)	32.6	(92)
Greek	47.0	(84)	23.8	(47)	12.0	(84)	38.1	(47)
Portuguese	50.9	(53)	35.7	(98)	20.8	(53)	28.6	(98)
Total	45.3	(225)	30.3	(237)	18.2	(225)	31.2	(237)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

#### 4.73 Survey socioeconomic status indicators

The weakness of the relation between education and citizenship status outlined in Chapter 3 was carried over to the survey where no systematic correlation was found. A strong case was made though in Chapter 3 for a relation between personal income and citizenship status. Indeed it was deemed the strongest Public Use Sample correlate. The survey data used total family income as reported by the respondent as the index of the effect of income on status characteristics. This was done so that housewives and younger family members could be included in the analysis. Table 53 examines a three way division of family income levels. As with our earlier analysis of income, the cutting points are quite low and we have tried to trichotomize by using an approximately equal numbers of cases for each income class.

Table 53 Group proportions for three reported family income levels (collapsed) by citizenship status in percent

Sample group	Below \$10,000		\$10,000-\$15,999		\$16,000	
	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.	Can. cit.	For. cit.
	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
United Kingdom	71.6	28.4	59.6	40.4	50.0	50.0
Italian	52.0	48.0	47.3	52.7	46.5	53.5
Greek	65.1	34.9	61.2	38.8	68.0	32.0
Portuguese	28.1	71.9	75.8	64.2	38.8	61.2
Total	57.8	42.2	50.2	49.8	45.5	51.5

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

A steep gradient associating citizenship status with income is not noted in Table 53. The low income relationship in the United Kingdom group is maintained. A middle income reduction in proportions naturalized is more noticeable in this table for the other three groups. Among the Portuguese and Greeks higher income is reported as being associated with naturalized status. This table brings the Portuguese experience reported more in line with the Public Use Sample data trends noted in Chapter 3. This socioeconomic status indicator does not appear to differentiate as well in the survey as it might.

The use of the Blishen occupational prestige score which was attached to respondents occupational categories gives us an alternate index of socioeconomic status. We trichotomized the scale using approximately equal case membership for each of the three constructed groups. It should be noted that many of the reported occupations scored very low on this index and the cutting points for the trichotomy are skewed down significantly. Table 54 gives the distribution by citizenship status.

Higher scores exert a consistent and dramatic influence on naturalized proportions. This is particularly marked for the Portuguese where thirty percentage points differentiate the low prestige scores from the high scores in the proportion naturalized. The Greeks and Italians also show strong correlation between prestige scores and citizenship status.

We include here new evidence on Richmond's idea (1967) that occupational dislocation through social mobility provides considerable incentive to naturalize. Table 55 was constructed with a three way



Table 54 Proportions for trichotomized Blishen occupational prestige score by citizenship status\* and by group in percent

Sample group	Low scores			Moderate scores			Higher scores		
	Can. cit.	For. cit.	(n)	Can. cit.	For. cit.	(n)	Can. cit.	For. cit.	(n)
United Kingdom	50.0	50.0	(14)	61.5	38.5	(13)	51.5	48.3	(58)
Italian	56.3	43.8	(48)	42.9	57.1	(49)	68.6	31.4	(35)
Greek	58.5	41.7	(41)	66.7	33.3	(33)	75.0	25.0	(20)
Portuguese	22.9	77.1	(48)	36.1	61.9	(42)	51.5	48.5	(33)
Total	45.7	54.3	(151)	48.9	51.1	(137)	58.9	41.1	(146)

\* We do not wish to imply any relationship between the pooled groups and social class.

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

Table 55 Proportions for citizenship status for first Canadian job by present job using Blishen occupational prestige scores in percent

First job	Low score			Moderate score			Higher score		
	Can.cit.		For.cit.	Can.cit.		For.cit.	Can.cit.		For.cit.
	%	%	(n)	%	%	(n)	%	%	(n)
Low score	46.7	53.3	(92)	58.5	41.3	(41)	68.8	31.3	(32)
Moderate score	43.9	56.1	(41)	45.3	54.7	(75)	48.0	52.0	(50)
Total	45.9	54.1	(133)	50.0	50.0	(116)	56.1	43.9	(82)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

analysis using a two fold split on the Blishen prestige scale for categorizing the relative prestige of the first job acquired in Canada and the three way trichotomy for present job used in the previous table. Table 55 uses the whole sample and in the sample aggregate the argument for dislocation is uneven. The two best pieces of evidence are the higher proportions of citizens for the two dislocations from low first job score to either moderate or higher present job scores. Downward dislocation does not appear to produce an effect. Certainly the maintenance of foreign citizenship must be noted for the dislocation from a moderate first job to a higher present job score.

## 4.8 Community influence<sup>1</sup>

### 4.81 Neighbourhoods and sponsor networks

Residential segregation is usually thought of as a component of the community of influence for immigrant groups. Transients in any population can form few relations which promote status attainment. Since the work of the Chicago school of social ecologists, drifting has been traditionally associated with downward mobility.

Segregation may work in several directions and we will examine three in this section. First of all, we attempted to establish if the number of neighbours known (an index of local integration) varied by citizenship status. In fact little variation occurred, and the evidence suggested that those who are now naturalized have, in fact, weaker local neighbourhood ties.

Secondly, we wanted to determine if the social composition of the neighbourhood being lived in would vary by citizenship status. In this case we can see from Table 56 that segregation creates some between group variation.

The Italians with citizenship see themselves as the most segregated, the Greeks and Portuguese with Canadian citizenship are the least segregated. The dominant Italian and Portuguese segregation for the

<sup>1</sup> All tables in section 4.8 exclude the United Kingdom from the analysis. No ethnic community in the classic sense of that term is perceived to exist for the various United Kingdom groups in Toronto. Data was not collected for them on these items.

Table 56 Group proportions indicating neighbourhood as either mostly ethnic or mostly mixed by citizenship status in percent

Sample group	Mostly ethnic group				Mostly mixed			
	Can. cit.		For. cit.		Can. cit.		For. cit.	
	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
Italian	44.3	(88)	38.9	(90)	34.1	(88)	44.4	(80)
Greek	19.5	(82)	19.1	(47)	59.8	(82)	55.3	(47)
Portuguese	35.8	(53)	35.8	(97)	54.7	(53)	55.7	(97)
Total	33.1	(223)	32.4	(234)	48.4	(223)	57.5	(224)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

landed immigrants may act as a general retardant to citizenship stream entry for those two groups but not for the Greeks.

Of more particular interest is the covariation of a third source of segregation - the relative completeness of a respondent's extended family in the Toronto area. Table 57 presents these data. There is

Table 57 Group proportions indicate most close relatives are in Toronto area by citizenship status in percent

Sample group	Can. cit.		For. cit.	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
Italian	60.2	(88)	46.7	(92)
Greek	45.2	(84)	29.8	(47)
Portuguese	56.6	(53)	42.9	(98)
Total	53.7	(225)	41.7	(237)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

little doubt that citizenship is associated with the complementary integration of the respondent's family. In some cases family integration would be at the local neighbourhood level but we do not have specific data on the locations of extended family members.

Among those respondents with citizenship we also wanted to ascertain the levels of sponsorship both for aiding others in obtaining landed status and aiding others in getting citizenship. As far as immigrant sponsorship is concerned the proportions indicating they or their family had been a sponsor are Naturalized Italians: 50%, Naturalized Greeks: 64.3, and Naturalized Portuguese: 67.3. There is thus considerable Portuguese sponsorship for immigration. As far as assistance for getting citizenship, however, respondents indicated that the respective proportions by group are, Naturalized Italians: 45.5%, Naturalized Greeks: 52.4% and Naturalized Portuguese: 44.0%. The Greeks, it seems, are the most helpful in assisting their fellow immigrants to obtain naturalization. Immigration into the country is a major source of community assistance for the Portuguese. The Greeks seem the most conscientious in following up with citizenship sponsor assistance.

#### 4.82 Social integration

Considerable information was gathered on the connections of the immigrant groups to their ethnic community and its organizations and institutions. Two primary, or face to face, sources of community connection are the patterns of friendship and use of ethnic group businesses. Table 58 breaks down these primary associations.



Table 58 Group proportions with mostly ethnic group friends and high frequency use of community businesses by citizenship status in percent

Sample group	Mostly ethnic group friends				High frequency use of community businesses			
	Can. cit.		For. cit.		Can. cit.		For. cit.	
	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
Italian	46.5	(86)	54.4	(90)	71.6	(88)	60.9	(92)
Greek	33.3	(84)	48.9	(47)	35.7	(84)	51.0	(47)
Portuguese	67.9	(53)	56.7	(97)	41.5	(53)	52.0	(48)
Total	46.6	(223)	53.1	(239)	51.1	(225)	54.3	(241)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

The Greeks emerge in this table as the group with the highest consistency on both items across the citizenship status categories. Naturalized Greeks display a behavioural drift away from the ethnic community of association. This should be examined in light of the fact that the Greeks have the quickest known rate of entry into the citizenship stream.

A further associational check of community connection was made. Respondents were asked if they were members of any of the "Ethnic-Canadian" clubs or associations. Table 59 gives these distributions.

For the Greeks and Portuguese, membership is not only generally more frequent, but membership is positively associated with naturalization. This would support an interpretation that hyphenated Canadian organizations are as Canadian in context as they are ethnic. It also

Table 59 Group proportions citing membership in community organizations by citizenship status in percent

Sample group	Proportion citing membership			
	Can. cit.		For. cit.	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
Italian	17.0	(88)	19.6	(92)
Greek	36.9	(84)	12.8	(47)
Portuguese	30.2	(53)	15.5	(97)
Total	27.5	(225)	16.1	(240)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

further supports the use of clubs and associations as the logical platforms for promotion activity by personnel of the Department of the Secretary of State.

In conjunction with associational memberships we inspected the use of specific ethnic media sources of information. As can be seen in Table 60, in both newspapers and magazines written in the language of the respective group, quite high levels of access can be maintained with immigrants through the press. Also in Table 60 we note that access to those who are not naturalized is higher for radio and television. The data indicate no such disproportional access by citizenship for the printed media, except perhaps, for the Portuguese. Also of note is the much higher overall access gained by use of the ethnic broadcasting system to these groups.

Table 60    Frequency of use of ethnic language press and ethnic language radio and TV broadcasting by citizenship status in percent

Sample group	Ethnic press				Ethnic Radio and TV			
	Can. cit.		For. cit.		Can. cit.		For. cit.	
	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
Italian	72.7	(88)	61.9	(92)	37.5	(88)	52.2	(92)
Greek	63.1	(84)	70.2	(47)	34.5	(84)	46.8	(47)
Portuguese	45.2	(53)	56.1	(98)	28.3	(53)	36.7	(98)
Total	62.6	(225)	60.7	(237)	33.7	(225)	44.3	(237)

Source:    1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

#### 4.83    Ethnic community opinion and leadership

We were curious to explore the perception of Canadian citizenship within the ethnic communities. Respondents were asked if they felt their respective communities wanted members to retain their citizenship of origin or become naturalized. Table 61 reveals the distributions for the three groups.

Two points are raised. The Italians and Greeks seem to have high overall community support for naturalization. The Portuguese community is more fragmented in its judgement, and, in fact, the high proportion of "no preference" indicates that a general community assessment of naturalization has not likely been made. We also note in passing,

Table 61 Group proportional responses to the community citizenship perception item in percent

Sample group	Keep original citizenship	Become naturalized Canadian	No preference or don't know	
	%	%	%	(n)
Italian	5.6	72.6	21.8	(179)
Greek	5.3	72.5	22.1	(131)
Portuguese	9.3	55.0	35.8	(151)
Total	6.7	66.8	26.5	(461)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

that almost all of the Portuguese, who indicated the community feels they should retain their original citizenship (9.3%), were still landed immigrants during the course of this study.

Community opinion usually rotates around opinion formers and leaders (Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955). We examined how the respondents assessed the various community leaders' opinions, in terms of the encouragement of naturalization, or the encouragement of a maintenance of landed immigrant status. There are a number of important observations in the data for Table 62, and the first is that, for the six leadership groups examined (religious, community political, business, ethnic organization, ethnic professional and media), the respondents had an overall 46% don't know response. The Italians, on the whole, seem better informed of community opinion, but this would be expected given the higher levels of community integration for the Italians which we established

earlier. The fairly high proportion of "Don't Know" responses across all the groups is the best indicator we have that citizenship per se is not an issue in these communities. We contend that if it were an issue, as a general topic of discussion and opinion, the "Don't Knows" would begin to disappear.

But we also stress, that, on balance, well over half of the respondents did report their perception of the leadership opinions. Tables 62 and 63 outline variations in these perceived opinions and the rank order of them by overall proportions. Media and political leaders encourage naturalization most. Business and religious leaders are perceived as the leading inhibitors of moves to naturalization. In both tables, the rank orders are kept very orderly across the different groups. There is, however, a discrepancy between the Greeks in Table 63 and the Italians and Portuguese. The Portuguese, in particular, express higher levels of community leader encouragement for the maintenance of alien or landed status. A quick check of this data by citizenship status was performed and it indicated that it is mainly the landed immigrant Portuguese who see the business, religious and community organization leaders supporting maintenance of foreign citizenship. Nearly 20% of the Portuguese with foreign citizenship claim that their business leaders encourage remaining landed. There are leadership inhibitors indicated in these data, which should be carefully noted, since they primarily affect an already reticent subgroup.

Critics may assert that although the Italians and Portuguese may have certain institutional leaders who argue that community members should remain landed, this is of little consequence if no one pays



Table 62 Proportional rank order of various leaders encouraging naturalization and breakdowns by groups in percent

Rank		Overall encouragement	Encouragement by group		
		(n = 460)	Italian (n = 178)	Greek (n = 131)	Portuguese (n = 151)
		%	%	%	%
1	Community media leaders	53.0	61.7	53.4	42.4
2	Community political leaders	49.7	54.2	47.3	46.4
3	Ethnic professionals	43.4	52.5	39.7	35.8
4	Business leaders	42.4	45.5	42.0	39.1
5	Religious leaders	39.7	51.7	33.6	30.7
6	Ethnic organization leaders	37.4	46.1	36.6	27.8

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

Table 63 Proportional rank order of various leaders preferring landed status and breakdowns by groups in percent

Rank		Prefer landed by group			
		Prefer landed (n = 466)	Italian (n = 178)	Greek (n = 131)	Portuguese (n = 151)
		%	%	%	%
1	Business leaders	12.0	12.9	4.6	17.2
2	Religious leaders	12.0	13.5	7.6	14.0
3	Ethnic organization leaders	11.7	12.4	6.1	15.9
4	Community media leaders	8.0	8.3	3.8	11.3
5	Ethnic professionals	7.8	7.3	5.3	10.6
6	Community political leaders	6.8	5.6	5.3	9.3

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

them any attention. But for these two communities that is not the case. When asked if the community leaders have a lot of influence on community members, 50% of the Portuguese landed immigrants and 52% of the Italians with Canadian citizenship readily agreed that their leaders have considerable influence. The Greeks had by comparison 37% who indicated that their leaders had much clout.

The link between a constituency, its leaders, and political attention is also highlighted by these data. The ranking of community political leaders and the media as the prominent promoters of naturalization fits a constituency explanation. Respondents were also asked if they agreed or disagreed that, if more community members took citizenship, their group would get more attention from politicians. Table 64 gives the proportion agreeing by citizenship status. Since the Portuguese so readily agree with this item even though their political

Table 64 Group proportions agreeing to the political attention item by citizenship status in percent

Group	Proportion agreeing			
	Can cit.		For. cit.	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
Italian	79.5	(88)	60.9	(92)
Greek	60.7	(84)	57.4	(47)
Portuguese	73.5	(53)	71.4	(98)
Total	71.1	(225)	64.5	(237)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

efficacy is the lowest (section 4.61), we must conclude that either the actual exercise of franchise voice is of less consequence to the Portuguese, or alternatively, they wish greater political attention. As a check on the latter hypothesis we examined another agree/disagree item which stated: "(group) community leaders do not have enough political connections". The Portuguese with Canadian citizenship had the highest level of agreement, 40%, with this item. The data seem to reflect current frustrations among the Portuguese with their political milieu.

#### 4.9 Status congruence

##### 4.9.1 Perceptions of the immigrant - citizen gap

We explored the existence of a perceived status gap in the survey between the categories landed immigrant and citizen. This was done to test the model outlined in Chapter 1 that narrow gap perception would positively influence entry into the citizenship stream.

To explore this relationship we developed a 'ladder question' (Appendix 2, Q.8, 9 and 18). Respondents were given a card with a seven rung ladder inscribed on it. The top of the ladder was designated to represent all the rights and duties of Canadian citizenship. Respondents from several categories were asked to rank their experience and perceptions as landed immigrants in terms of their congruence or lack of congruence with the top of the ladder.

Distributions along each seven point scale were regrouped into

three intervals and labeled wide gap, narrow gap, or no gap. Respondents with wide gap perception expressed large discrepancy between their perception and experiences of the landed immigrant and Canadian citizen categories. They felt nearer the bottom of the ladder. The group, who did not see a gap, had perfect congruence; they all chose the top rung of the ladder. The narrow gap group were toward the high end, but not at the very top.

The model would predict that a narrow gap or no gap perception would support moves to registration. Wide gap perception could inhibit registration since the individual would likely feel more congruent with immigrant status. The data are considerably more variable than we had anticipated.

Respondents with Canadian citizenship were asked to think back to their perceptions before taking citizenship. We asked them how far they felt from the very top of the ladder when they were a landed immigrant. Table 65 gives these various perceptions of this gap for the naturalized respondents.

Table 65 Naturalized respondent perceptions of the immigrant-citizen status gap by group in percent

Sample group	Personal status gap perception			(n)
	Wide gap	Narrow gap	No gap	
	%	%	%	
United Kingdom	9.7	11.7	78.6	(103)
Italian	36.3	40.0	23.8	(80)
Greek	43.6	34.6	21.8	(78)
Portuguese	46.0	30.0	24.0	(50)
Total	30.9	27.7	41.5	(311)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

The United Kingdom group saw little difference; a majority reported that no gap existed. This would accord with a general perception of the United Kingdom group as being closer by culture to the majority society. The U.K. group were also extended different status and privileges until the adoption of the 1976 Citizenship Act. The Portuguese saw the greatest distinction, and thus accord low status to the category landed immigrant. The Italians have the greatest narrow gap perception. One would expect that the United Kingdom group would have the greatest overall proportion with citizenship and the Portuguese would have the least. This is what occurs. The model would also predict that the Greeks should have a greater narrow gap and no gap perception than the Italians, since their rate of entry and proportion with citizenship is higher. This is not the case. Table 65 allows the possibility that narrow gap perception is an inhibitor rather than a facilitator of naturalization.

This impression is reinforced in Table 66. The respondents,

Table 66 Naturalized respondent perceptions of the immigrant-citizen gap for other immigrants by group in percent

Group	Other status gap perception			(n)
	Wide gap	Narrow gap	No gap	
	%	%	%	
United Kingdom	15.1	38.7	46.2	(93)
Italian	56.2	30.1	13.7	(73)
Greek	54.2	33.9	11.9	(59)
Portuguese	63.0	26.1	10.9	(46)
Total	42.8	33.2	24.0	(271)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data



naturalized citizens, were asked how far landed immigrants from their nationality group, are from the top of the ladder. The naturalized citizens attribute greater gaps, between their fellow immigrant group members and full citizens, than they did for themselves. But the overall distribution in Table 66 is similar to Table 65. The Portuguese it should be noted are quick to increase the perceived gap when reporting on others. There is substantial low status congruence being expressed by this group. The Italians and the Greeks also indicate wide gap perception for others of their group. Landed immigrant respondents do not perceive these gaps, attributed to them by those who have naturalized, in the same way. Table 67 was derived by asking the landed immigrant respondents how far they presently felt from the top of the ladder.

Table 67 Landed immigrant respondent perceptions of the immigrant-citizen gap for themselves by group in percent

Landed immigrant groups	Personal status gap perception			(n)
	Wide gap	Narrow gap	No gap	
	%	%	%	
United Kingdom	1.5	28.4	70.1	(67)
Italian	44.7	45.9	9.4	(85)
Greek	38.5	43.6	17.9	(39)
Portuguese	48.4	34.4	17.2	(93)
Total	34.9	37.7	27.5	(284)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

Table 67 is in much greater accord with Table 65, where the naturalized reported their perception of previous experience. But the Italians in this case have the lowest proportion with no gap perceived. According to our hypothetical suggestions, this should act as a retardent to citizenship stream entry. The Greeks have the second highest reports of no gap. This should act as a stimulant to future registration. Again though, the general idea of a narrow or narrowing gap explanation does not show the differentiation by group we had expected. Indeed, narrow gap perception may be the worst case; that is the best predictor of no expected future change in status.

A further check was applied to the informal status level of the category landed immigrant by examining the comparative disadvantages perceived by immigrants for the status, landed immigrant, as opposed to citizen. Table 68 rank orders the various items used, by the total proportion, and indicates there are informal disadvantages to the status landed immigrant. There is evidence in the table that the three items, political affairs, getting jobs and dealing with civil servants, are more discriminating than the other four items. In particular, we note much higher levels of expressed disadvantages for landed immigrants by the Greeks on all items, but particularly in getting jobs and in political affairs. The Portuguese, too, have a higher proportional perception of landed immigrant disadvantages. A summary of the evidence from tables 67 and 68 indicates that perhaps status discrepancy has two principal dimensions. More Greeks, who are still landed immigrants, than Italians or Portuguese, perceive a narrow or no gap; but at the same

Table 68 Rank order by total proportions of landed status disadvantages and group variations for those expressing many disadvantages, in percent

Group Proportions																	
Rank order		Total proportions (n = 625)		U.K. total (n = 177)	U.K. landed (n = 65)	Italian total (n = 175)	Italian landed (n = 90)	Greek total (n = 128)	Greek landed (n = 47)	Port. total (n = 148)	Port. landed (n = 95)						
		Many dis.	Some dis.									Many dis.	Many dis.	Many dis.	Many dis.		
1	In political affairs	25.0	38.9	(n)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%						
2	In getting a job	16.5	1.6	(625)	6.6	8.6	28.8	31.8	35.4	34.9	31.0						
3	In dealing with civil servants	16.5	29.8	(557)	10.3	3.1	14.1	16.7	23.4	20.5	21.1						
4	In getting a bank loan	13.7	25.4	(531)	9.3	7.8	15.0	16.9	19.1	24.6	20.7						
5	In getting welfare	10.6	25.9	(463)	12.0	1.9	11.4	7.7	17.8	15.0	13.3						
6	In finding housing	5.5	21.2	(623)	7.4	*	9.7	*	13.8	12.8	*						
7	In getting medical care	3.2	10.4	(616)	7.0	*	4.0	*	4.7	6.1	*						
					1.7	*	4.0	*	4.8	2.9	*						

\* Residual

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

time , of the groups sampled, the Greeks argue the most that the landed immigrant status has many disadvantages (Table 68). These conditions, then, may underlie the components of status incongruency which foster the highest rate of absorption and intentions of absorption into the citizenship stream. Thus, the lower levels of status gap distinction and higher levels of discriminatory status distinction, which occur in the Greek group, may be the status perceptions most associated with rapid entry into citizenship.

Under the above conditions we could characterize the four groups by the two status distinctions and by status integration. The combinations of the two status distinctions may lead to facilitators or inhibitors of citizenship status integration (Table 69). Readers who have followed our reasoning can see that under this analysis the Portuguese

Table 69 Characterization of landed immigrant groups by status distinctions in integration

	United Kingdom	Italian	Greek	Portuguese
Gap perception	none	narrow	narrow	wide
Perceived disadvantages	some	some	more	more
Status integration	facilitator	inhibitor	facilitator	inhibitor

are the most seriously affected by wide gap perception and more perceived disadvantages.

## 4.92 The gap and future intentions

We have chosen to examine the perceptual gap among the landed immigrant respondents in terms of its possible correlation with intentions for future registration. We argued earlier that those landed immigrants, who claimed they would register in the period up to and including a year from the time of the survey, likely had the highest overall propensity to register. As Table 70 indicates status gap perception is a very smooth correlate of intentions. The narrower the gap the greater the chances of a rapid registration.

Table 70 Personal immigrant-citizen status gap perception by period of time to possible registration in percent

Personal status gap perception	Period to possible registration		
	1 year or less	2 to 10 years	
	%	%	(n)
Wide gap	50.8	49.2	(61)
Narrow gap	60.8	39.2	(74)
No gap	70.0	30.0	(40)
Total	52.0	48.0	(200)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

In summary, it is evident that status perceptions play a considerable role in future intentions. The members of a group must not perceive



themselves as too disadvantaged or too low in the status hierarchy, or a kind of paralysis may hinder moves to status attainment and citizenship registration.

## 5 CONCLUSIONS

### 5.1 Patterns in the evidence

There is a considerable variation in the data in this report. What we feel for certain is that there exists an argument for pattern differentiation between these four selected groups when we examine all the evidence in perspective. We also know that citizenship is a status characteristic and must be seen as an attribute which mainly accompanies rather than determines other characteristics. For this very reason, we have tried to discuss the data as instances of covariation rather than in determinant terms.

We propose four simple patterns or characterizations based on our knowledge of the data. Each of them points to distinctions which are a product of variations between the groups. We feel that while there are obvious areas of overlap for the groups, there is not enough overall consistency to warrant only three, or even two patterns. The four proposed patterns derive from some unique features of each of the selected groups.

#### 1 Political integration pattern

It was most difficult to determine a pattern for the United Kingdom group. This no doubt derives from their special status until the 1977 changes in the Citizenship Act. This special status has included an extension of the franchise to British subjects at the provincial level in Ontario. The character of the move to naturalization which we gain from the United Kingdom respondents derives largely from integration into

political affairs. Evidence is considerable that the United Kingdom group has a more active interest in Canadian politics, far surpassing the other groups in our sample. Naturalization can be seen as a consolidation of political interest into full franchise exercise.

Political socialization can be as time consuming for adults, as it is for teenagers. If naturalization for the United Kingdom group is most explicitly connected to political integration, we can only expect that such integration will take place over many years. We suggest that this long-term integration leads to long periods of residency before naturalization.

## 2 Social integration pattern

The second group with a clear pattern are the Italians. They are not, however, joining a polity, but rather, an ethnic society. There is evidence that naturalization for the Italians is a correlate of long term ethnic community integration factors. In particular, we note that the integration does not occur at the mass societal level but is more a local community phenomenon. (The naturalized Italians evidently have high levels of Italian-Canadian community integration than do any other group.) We suggest that a naturalized Italian has joined the "Italian-Canadian" society. We also suggest there may be other groups we have not sampled who also follow this model. This pattern is the picture of multiculturalism; integration without loss.

## 3 Status congruence pattern

The Greeks are the only group which have clearly followed our predictive theory. Status attainment and status congruence is as

rapid as the speed of entry into citizenship. The Greeks also have the strongest correlations with Canadian citizenship for structural and economic indicators. Language skill, socioeconomic status, income and perceptions of status gaps and status disadvantages all work in concert to propel the Greeks quickly into registration. As soon as possible, this group wishes to avoid any possible negative connotations of landed immigrant status. There is another kind of integration working here also, a larger societal integration. The Greeks in our study who naturalize are not embedded in the Greek ethnic community but are involved in a cosmopolitan lifestyle.

#### 4 Status facilitation pattern

There is evidence of strain and contradictions for the Portuguese. They see large gaps in the available rights between themselves and Canadians. They see a failure to attain political attention. They feel the most disadvantaged, and there is a sense of frustration in their responses. The Portuguese who naturalize seem to anticipate that registration will be a facilitator to a better deal. The indicators of structural integration into Canadian society indicate they are at a comparative disadvantage to other groups like the Greeks. They do not display the local integration of the Italians. They are more restless over options for return migration. In sum, the wide gulf of their status perceptions between themselves and other Canadians may stimulate many to take out Canadian citizenship, in the hope that they can close the gaps, and integration will follow. This a finding completely in contradiction to our theoretical model.

## 5.2 Speculations on the stimulation of citizenship

There can be no golden rule, and we contend that future registration intentions should be highly variable, if the constellation of forces is as variable across all other immigrant groups as it has been for the four examined here. We would like to limit our remarks to the association of status characteristics, since these were the properties examined most in the analysis.

One possibility is to increase the perceived disadvantages<sup>1</sup> of remaining a landed immigrant. The brisk registrations for the Greeks depend on narrow gap personal status perception but also the perception of more disadvantages for landed immigrants. In this regard, we would argue that the removal of the special status accorded the United Kingdom or British subject group in recent changes in the Citizenship Act will produce just such a long term effect for this group. The change in the Act has altered the earlier special British subject conditions to one of negative status reinforcement. We anticipate heavy United Kingdom registration as a result of the change in the Citizenship Act.

A second possibility is to decrease the perceived privileges<sup>2</sup> associated with naturalization by immigrant groups. This would have a slightly different effect from increasing the perceived disadvantages of remaining a landed immigrant. We must remember that narrow gap perception is the most conducive condition to naturalization. The

<sup>1,2</sup> We assume the perception of disadvantage or privilege can be altered by information campaigns.



United Kingdom group denies seeing a gap, and indeed their past special status makes it very hard to see, but they still have the highest proportion of registrations even if they are a very long time coming.

Another possibility is to link naturalization with membership in the communities of Canada rather than the total society. Such a conception is far more in tune with a realistic assessment of the structure of Canada. Naturalization is an act of joining and we suggest that people are more inclined to join something where they can see the boundaries of the membership and its by-products. This is precisely the Italian pattern.

A final suggestion is more radical. This is to link citizenship privileges with established and inevitable status characteristics. Let us use age as an example. Members of our society who work, all contribute over a lifetime to their security in retirement. If naturalization were conferred on recipients of federal pension schemes at the time of retirement, this convenient overlap of status could be viewed as highly complementary. For a life, or part of a life service to the country a person is naturalized, even if they were never able to master the languages or exams. We would argue that the logical linking of other natural status characteristics with getting citizenship can only increase potential registrations. Reducing distinctions and establishing the inevitability of naturalization is the surest road to a noble equality.

## Appendix 1    Brief Sample Design Report

### 1    SURVEY POPULATION

#### 1.1    Considerations

This study<sup>1</sup> was constrained partially by the limits of the definition of the population and the groups selected for attention. The initial restraints imposed by the Department of the Secretary of State can be outlined this way:

The population:

A study of a population of special interest to its program; landed immigrants who have fulfilled the residency requirement of five years and are, prima facie, eligible to apply for citizenship.

Group choice:

It is the intention that the research focus on those nationalities comprising a high proportion of the total population eligible for citizenship; and showing variability in the propensity to apply for citizenship once the residency requirement is satisfied. These are Great Britain, the United States, Italy, Germany, Portugal, Greece, France and the other Commonwealth.<sup>2</sup>

The original population created several hazards in finding eligible cases. Four of the targeted groups; Great Britain, Italian, and German, and French are "large established groups". They are a

<sup>1</sup>A much fuller version of this design can be found in Appendix B of the final working research report.

<sup>2</sup>Quoted from the research prospectus distributed by the Department of the Secretary of State

significant percentage of the population, but many of their numbers are of second, third or later generations. This curtailed the percentage of immigrants available. The three other target groups; American, Portuguese and Greek, are "small recent groups". They have tiny total populations but are predominately first generation immigrants. The Commonwealth cases are rare, and of many generations. The sampler steadily loses in trying to make stratification gains. Here are two summary tables showing distributed immigrant and ethnic characteristics.

Table 71 Selected nationality groups (all generations) per total population of Metropolitan Toronto, in percent

	%
United Kingdom	56.9
Italian	10.3
German	4.4
Portuguese	1.7
Greek	2.0
French	3.5
United States	<2.0 (est.)
Commonwealth	Not available.
Remainder	19.2

These data indicated that stratification gains due to enclavic segregation could only occur for the Italians, Portuguese, and Greeks. High dispersion excluded the other groups from any gain and even for the enclavic groups the gains were minimal. The United Kingdom group, however, is sufficiently large even for the foreign born category, so that gains due to segregation were not considered necessary.

Table 72 Foreign born for selected nationality groups per the total population of Metropolitan Toronto, in percent

Group		Possible stratification gain
	%	
United Kingdom	9.5	Two-fold for the top 16 (census) tracts
Italian	6.3	Six-fold for the top 16 tracts
German	1.7	Two-fold for the top 16 tracts
Portuguese	1.4	Five-fold for the top 16 tracts
Greek	1.4	Five-fold for the top 16 tracts
United States	1.4	Two-fold for the top 16 tracts
French	0.1	None possible
Commonwealth	not available	

Source: 1971 C.C.D.M.S. Aggregate Data

Contents of this table furnished by Survey Research Centre of the Institute for Behavioural Research, York University, Toronto, Ontario.

## 1.2 Population definition

We broadened the definition of the population to those first generation, foreign born migrants who were 18 years of age or older and were either naturalized or had fulfilled the five year residency requirement, and were not yet citizens. While this did not make sampling a simple task it did make some stratification and segregation gains possible.

## 1.3 Survey location

We were limited to urban areas. Further we were constrained to one setting given the choice of target groups. Toronto was the logical

first choice, because of its segregation patterns, its percentage foreign born, and its representativeness as a Canadian metropolis. Montreal would have been lucrative to sample, but this would have involved liaison with the Centre du Sondage and complicated timetable arrangements. The large western cities simply did not offer a level of foreign born sufficient to aid in the stratification gains we have discussed. In fairness, it should be stressed that only sampling in Toronto allowed a small increase in the sample size since lower per unit costs could be performed there by the Survey Research Centre.

#### 1.4 Target group selection

For the selection of the "target" groups the stratification gains were used to the utmost. Respondents of United Kingdom, Portuguese, Greek and Italian foreign birth were chosen. Good stratification gains were made since, for the southern European groups, high density clusters of one group contained substantial representation of the others. While respondents from the United Kingdom are an aggregate and are not as pure a case, they also are a separate analytic category. The possible process of citizenship for them was somewhat different than it was for other landed immigrants. The Italians, Greeks, and Portuguese are representative of postwar and recent migration. They also have widely different rates in their average length of time to application for citizenship.



## 2 PROBABILITY SAMPLE DESIGN

### 2.1 Target and sampled subpopulations

The target subpopulation of individuals, or the domain of individuals, consisted of all first generation immigrants residing in Metropolitan Toronto with the following attributes:

- (a) born in the United Kingdom, Portugal, Greece or Italy;
- (b) 18 years of age or older;
- (c) either naturalized citizens, or had fulfilled the five year residency requirement and were not yet citizens.

The sampled subpopulation of such first generation foreign born immigrants was more restricted than the target subpopulation for the following reasons.

We did not have a separate frame (i.e., the aggregate of identifiable tangible physical units of some kind, any or all of which may be selected and investigated) listing the individuals who belonged to the target subpopulation. However, the individuals who belonged to the target subpopulation could be uniquely identified with households which in turn could be uniquely identified with addresses, which in turn could be uniquely identified with Enumeration Areas (EA's), which in turn could be uniquely identified with Census Tracts (CT's).

Throughout the frame of all households in Metro Toronto, the target subpopulation of households is geographically scattered with only some enclavic segregations or clusterings. To substantially

reduce the costs associated with the large number of required field screenings, only a subpopulation of the target subpopulation of individuals was covered by the study. By definition, the sampled subpopulation consisted of those individuals who belonged to the target subpopulation of individuals but who resided in certain specified geographic areas of Metro Toronto. These specified geographic areas are known immigrant reception areas which had an above average density of first generation British, Portuguese, Greek and Italian immigrants. Though more information about the construction of these specified geographic areas is given in section 2.2, we would like to point out that the majority of these areas overlap with the Portuguese, Greek and Italian ethnic-language groups strata which were constructed for Metropolitan Toronto in the Non-Official Language Study (N.O.L.) 1973 supported by the Department of the Secretary of State, and account for approximately 29% of the total population of individuals residing in Metropolitan Toronto, both urban core and fringe.

In addition to considerations of cost, no criteria could be thought of to warrant an absolute sample representation of individuals across the whole of Metropolitan Toronto. The same argument that restricted the proposed study to an urban area, namely sample size gains for the subpopulation under study resulting from immigrant centres of population, applied equally at the municipal level. For the target subpopulation of individuals under study, it was not worth the time, money and effort to search for members in locations where they do not exist or existed in only small numbers, simply to generate inferences for a large urban conglomerate.

In the specific geographic areas of Metropolitan Toronto associated with the sampled subpopulation, the traditional immigration reception areas as well as intraurban migrant corridors were included. In this way, those individuals under study who have moved out of reception areas into the corridors were included in the study to balance the perspective. In addition, such inclusion of intraurban migrant corridors optimized the possibility of finding those individuals under study whose length of Canadian residency ranged from 5 to 25 years. Such optimization was the object of the Citizenship Registration Branch's special concerns, for this is the period when the bulk of registrations occur.

It should be remembered that conclusions drawn from the sample of individuals under study strictly apply only to the sampled subpopulation of individuals under study. Judgement about the extent to which these conclusions will apply to the target subpopulation depend on other sources of information.

## 2.2 Stratification

The sampled subpopulation of individuals under study consisted of those individuals who belong to the target subpopulation of individuals, but who resided in certain specified geographic areas of Metropolitan Toronto. These areas were the Portuguese, Greek and Italian ethnic-language group<sup>1</sup> strata which were constructed for Metropolitan

<sup>1</sup> Ethnic-language was a composite index score of ethnicity, generation and language use variables generated from census data.

Toronto in the Non-Official Languages study (O'Bryan, K.G. et al. 1976) and a special United Kingdom stratum which we constructed, since no such special stratum, other than that one which was referred to as the the residual stratum, was constructed for United Kingdom immigrants in the N.O.L. study.

Each of the Portuguese, Greek and Italian ethnic-language group strata were formed with Census Tracts as building blocks, where the CT's involved contained a greater than Metropolitan average of the particular ethnic-language group. The Great Britain stratum for this study was similarly formed, but birthplace was used to establish CT density.

Several CT's included in the Portuguese, Greek and Italian ethnic-language group strata were similarly constructed for Metropolitan Toronto in the N.O.L. study. Since any supplementary information from the N.O.L. study might be helpful in discovering the nature of differences between the sampled and target subpopulations, it was decided that the N.O.L. study of Portuguese, Greek and Italian ethnic-language group strata should also be used for this study.

Using 1971 census data, Table 73 below summarizes the expected distribution of first generation United Kingdom, Portuguese, Greek and Italian immigrants among the four constructed immigrant strata. In each cell of Table 73, the top entry is the stratum count of individuals, and the bottom entry is the corresponding stratum proportion of individuals.

It is to be noted that the four constructed strata account for 97 of the 341 CT's in Metropolitan Toronto and approximately 29% of the population of Metropolitan Toronto.

Table 73 Expected distribution of first generation Great Britain, Portuguese, Greek and Italian immigrants in constructed sample strata

Constructed ethnic strata	Expected immigrant group distributions	United Kingdom	Portuguese	Greek	Italian	Total stratum population
United Kingdom		14,919 .1733	770 .0089	926 .0108	1341 .0156	86,105
Portuguese		3375 .0284	19,280 .1622	3555 .0299	21,255 .1788	118,885
Greek		12,125 .0831	7,895 .0541	13,370 .0917	8,835 .0606	145,860
Italian		8,225 .0328	33,090 .1320	9545 .0381	37,235 .1485	250,685

Source: 1971 C.C.D.M.S. Aggregate Data

### 2.3 Sample allocation

Assuming that the ethnic strata household counts were proportional to the total ethnic strata population counts given in Table 73, a first-phase household sample of size 5,000 was used. Table 74 below shows the expected subpopulation sample takes for each of the four ethnic groups under study. In each cell of Table 74, the top entry was the expected sample take based on a 100% response rate, and the bottom entry was the corresponding expected sample take based on an expected 65% response rate.

A desired final sample of 600 or more individuals was settled on, and this sample was to be equally allocated among the four ethnic groups



Table 74 Expected sample takes by ethnic stratum and group

Construc- ted ethnic stratum	Expected immigrant group takes	United Kingdom	Portu- guese	Greek	Italian	Stratum sample alloca- tion
United Kingdom		139 90	7 5	9 6	12 8	800
Portuguese		34 22	195 127	36 23	215 139	1,200
Greek		166 108	108 70	183 119	121 79	2,000
Italian		33 21	132 86	38 25	149 97	1,000
100% Response total		372	442	266	497	5,000
65% Response total		241	288	173	323	

Source: 1971 C.C.D.M.S. Aggregate Data

(that is, the final sample was to consist of about 150 individuals or more from each of the four ethnic groups). It can be seen from Table 74 that eligible United Kingdom, Portuguese, Greek and Italian first-phase sampled households had to be subsampled at the rates 2:3, 3:5, 1:1, and 1:2, respectively, resulting in expected subpopulation sample takes of 161, 173, 173, and 162, respectively.

The slight expected excess over 150 for each of the four ethnic groups was to handle the following possible difficulty. It was desired that of the 600 individuals sampled, roughly 300 individuals would be naturalized citizens, and 300 individuals would have at least fulfilled the five-year residency requirement, but were not citizens.

A coin toss assumption that 50% of all immigrants become naturalized was indicated by previous data. Since we did not know the actual proportion, with or without citizenship, for the target groups we proceeded with this aggregate assumption. In planning sample takes of more than 150 per stratum, it was hoped that a final sample distribution of at least 300 citizens and 300 landed immigrants would balance out to aid analysis.

#### 2.4 Four-stage and two-phase sample selection procedure for respondents

While each of the four ethnic strata were formed with CT's as building blocks, the CT's within a stratum were pooled and treated as an aggregate. Within each stratum, the required Phase I sample of households to be screened was selected by means of three stages of sampling; enumeration areas (EA's), addresses, and households were the first, second and third-stage sampling units, respectively.

For each stratum, a list of EA's with their 1971 census household counts was available. The total number of EA's sampled was 52 with approximately 100 addresses and corresponding households sampled for each EA. Each sampled EA was selected in such a way that the probability of selection was proportional to the fraction of 1971 households that the EA represents of the whole stratum.

For those sampled EA's for which address lists existed, random starts and corresponding sampling rates were applied to the address lists to determine which addresses in the EA's were to be sampled. In cases where a sampled address contained two or more households

rather than an expected single household, each of the found households was sampled. For those sampled EA's for which address lists did not exist, random starts and sampling rates based on 1971 census data were provided to interviewers who then applied them directly in the field.

With respect to the first-phase sample of households, the place of birth and citizenship status of each adult member, aged 18 and over, of each sampled household, was determined. At this point a Phase I household may have been classified into several Phase II "households". The rule was that for purposes of the second-phase sampling of "households" every Phase I household was "broken up" into as many Phase II "households" as there were adults, aged 18 and over, with different places of birth (United Kingdom, Portugal, Greece or Italy) and with different states of citizenship (naturalized or foreign citizen). Thus, for example, a Phase I household containing two immigrant Portuguese, both older than 18, one naturalized and the other non-naturalized; one immigrant Italian, older than 18 and naturalized; and one Canadian-born citizen, were "broken up" into four Phase II "households": one contains the naturalized Portuguese, one the non-naturalized Portuguese, one the naturalized Italian and one the Canadian-born citizen which was ineligible for the second-phase sample of "households".

Each interviewer was supplied with a sheet containing eight columns for the possible combinations of places of birth and states of citizenship under study. These sheets incorporated the second-phase subsampling rates 2:3, 3:5, 1:1, and 1:2 for the places of birth, Great

Britain, Portugal, Greece and Italy, respectively. For example, one of the columns on the sheet corresponded to the place of birth as Portugal and the citizenship status as naturalized. This column was divided into marking boxes, and of these boxes three out of five were marked by \*. The interviewer, having identified the place of birth and citizenship status of a Phase II "household" entered the "household" number in the next appropriate marking box. If the marking box had an \* in it, the interviewer would proceed to sample a fourth-stage sampling unit (that is, an eligible individual) within the "household"; otherwise, the interviewer did not sample a fourth-stage sampling unit,

The word "households" in connection with the second-phase sampling of "households" is put between quotation marks to indicate that these "households" may not be households in the conventional sense, since a household containing individuals with different places of birth and with different states of citizenship was broken into several "pseudo-households", one corresponding to each combination of place of birth and citizenship status.

If the box on the Phase II selection sheet into which the "household" number was entered was marked by \*, then a fourth-stage sampling unit (that is, an eligible individual) was sampled from that "household" at random, using a person selection sheet. The number of eligible individuals in the "household" was thus determined, and the entry corresponding to the number of eligible individuals on the person selection sheet then determined the specific individual who was to be sampled and interviewed in depth.

### 3 SAMPLE PERFORMANCE

#### 3.1 Sample field takes

As outlined in Part 2 of this Appendix, on probability design, the multi-stage procedure (four stages) was divided into two phases. In Phase I households were selected; in Phase II unique individuals. The data from these phases have been logged according to stratum in tables 75 and 76.

A total of 5,015 households were selected in the sample (Table 75) but many were set aside for a variety of reasons. In this study, household contact was limited to one initial contact, and a maximum of three callbacks. If say, after four approaches no one was roused at an address, the dwelling was declared absent.

After the household information was obtained a total of 3,275 individuals (Table 76) met the eligibility criteria. Random table selection reduced this to 1,162 individuals for which 644 interviews were secured.

The key to headings in these tables is as follows:

HS	Household selected
HC	Household completed
DA	Dead address
Lang.	No communication possible
Abs.	Absent after four contacts
Comp. Int.	Complete interview
Ref.	Refused at door
Ill/Aged	Unable to complete because of health
Other	Not subsampled



Table 75 Project #184 Survey log form #1  
Phase I: Household selections

Stratum	HS	HC	DA	Lang	Abs	Ref	Other
United Kingdom Stratum 1	801	530	12	1	215	40	2
Portuguese Stratum 2	1,354	1,123	17	44	142	19	-
Greek Stratum 3	1,807	1,571	49	10	137	38	2
Italian Stratum 4	1,053	903	15	17	66	39	2
Totals	5,015	4,127	93	72	560	136	6

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Screening Data

Table 76 Project #184. Survey log form #2. Phase II: Individual selections

Stratum	Eligible	Selected	Comp. int.	Ref.	Abs	Lang.	Ill/ Aged	Other
United Kingdom Stratum 1	184	88	47	5	3	1	2	30
Portuguese Stratum 2	1,151	357	206	5	10	78	3	55
Greek Stratum 3	1,043	451	258	18	17	95	9	54
Italian Stratum 4	897	266	133	5	5	33	5	85
Totals	3,275	1,162	644	33	35	207	19	224

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Screening Data

### 3.2 Field completions

Table 77 refers to the distribution of completions by stratum and by citizenship status type. A number of points emerge. If one compares Table 77/74 there are marked divergences, but overall the trends for projected takes found in Table 74 did produce yields in the predicted directions. In such a complicated sampling strategy this is the best one can hope for. The overall takes are well balanced and the raw distributions of Canadian citizens and foreign citizens for each nationality group correspond very closely to the published 1971 data. We were pleased with the results of this sampling scheme but they pinpoint the hazards of relying on sample predictions from five year old census data.

Table 77 Project #184. Citizenship status. Stratum by individuals completed and group type  
(raw counts)

Stratum	Immigrant group type	British Can. cit.	British For. cit.	Italian Can. cit.	Italian For. cit.	Greek Can. cit.	Greek For. cit.	Portu- guese Can. cit.	Portu- guese Can. cit.	(n)
United Kingdom Stratum 1		26	14	-	-	5	2	-	-	(47)
Portuguese Stratum 2		9	4	23	26	6	8	49	81	(206)
Greek Stratum 3		62	39	17	20	70	35	2	13	(258)
Italian Stratum 4		16	12	48	46	3	2	2	4	(133)
Totals		113	69	88	92	84	47	53	98	(644)

Source: 1976 Toronto Survey Sample Data

## Appendix 2 QUESTIONNAIRE WITH MARGINAL PERCENTAGES

C.2

## Project #184

CITIZENSHIP STATUS

\*N.B. Rounding errors may make percentages add up to a bit more or less than 100%.

1. About how old were you when you came to Canada to live?

— — Years (See text) — —

2. How important is it to you that you were born a (nationality) citizen? Is it ...

... very important . . . . .	1	46.3%
... somewhat important . . . . .	2	24.4%
... not very important . . . . .	3	27.6%
D.K. . . . .	8	1.8%

3. Tell me if you think Canadian citizens have more rights, or the same rights as landed immigrants for ...

(CODE FIRST REACTION)

	<u>More</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>D.K.</u>	
a) ... receiving old age pension . . . . .	34.5%	49.5%	16.0%	—
b) ... getting a Canadian passport . . . . .	66.0%	25.5%	9.5%	—
c) ... voting in city elections. . . . .	67.2%	26.7%	6.1%	—
d) ... receiving unemployment insurance. . . . .	17.7%	73.0%	9.3%	—
e) ... daycare support . . . . .	11.2%	56.4%	32.5%	—
f) ... owning property in Canada . . . . .	14.9%	81.4%	3.7%	—
g) ... moving to another province. . . . .	12.0%	80.0%	8.1%	—
h) ... voting in national elections. . . . .	68.8%	24.6%	6.4%	—
i) ... treatment under the law . . . . .	23.2%	68.5%	8.3%	—
j) ... joining a political party . . . . .	41.5%	36.2%	22.2%	—
k) ... welfare support . . . . .	22.2%	61.3%	16.5%	—

4. Can you tell me the things a person has to do in order to become a Canadian citizen? (PROBE: Is there anything else you can think of perhaps?)

(DO NOT READ OUT - CIRCLE THOSE MENTIONED)

	<u>Mentioned</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Ment.</u>	
a) Must make personal application at citizenship court or office . . . . .	46.1%	53.9%	—
b) Must wait 5 years (3 accepted) before applying. . . .	40.2%	59.8%	—
c) Must have resided in Canada for 12 of the last 18 months . . . . .	2.3%	97.7%	—
d) Must be able to speak either English or French. . . .	16.0%	84.0%	—
e) Must have some knowledge of Canada. . . . .	54.5%	45.5%	—
f) Must have a court hearing . . . . .	13.8%	86.2%	—
g) Must appear at a public ceremony. . . . .	6.5%	93.5%	—
h) Must swear allegiance . . . . .	38.0%	62.0%	—
i) Must pay ten dollars (twelve accepted). . . . .	16.9%	83.1%	—
j) Other mentioned _____ (See text)			—
	15.4%	84.6%	—

INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT IS A LANDED IMMIGRANT, GO TO Q. 10

5. Can you tell me what year you took out Canadian citizenship?

Year 19 — — (See text)

6. While you were getting Canadian citizenship did you find it ...

[... very difficult. . . . .	1	1.2%
[... somewhat difficult. . . . .	2	5.4%
... not at all difficult (GO TO Q. 8) . . .	3	93.4%
		(N = 332)

7. Could you describe your difficulties?

(See text)



**HAND RESPONDENT CARD A FOR Q. 8 & 9**

8. This card has a ladder on it. The top of the ladder represents all the rights and duties of Canadian citizenship. How far did you feel from the very top of this ladder when you were a landed immigrant in Canada?

(CODE NUMBER OF RUNG THAT RESPONDENT INDICATES)

(See text)

9. In general, how far would you say other (nationality) people who are still landed immigrants are from the very top of this ladder?

(CODE NUMBER OF RUNG THAT RESPONDENT INDICATES)

(See text)

**INTERVIEWER: RETRIEVE SHOW CARD AND GO TO Q. 20**

10. Have you already started the process of taking out Canadian citizenship?

Yes (GO TO Q. 15) . . . . .

1 9.2%

No. . . . .

2 90.8%

(N = 306)

11. Do you expect to take out Canadian citizenship some time in the future?

Yes . . . . .

1 80.1%

No (GO TO Q. 13). . . . .

2 19.9%

(N = 271)

12. How many years from now do you expect to take out citizenship?

\_\_\_ Years (See text)

**INTERVIEWER: GO TO Q. 14**

13. What do you think is the main reason that you will not take out Canadian citizenship?

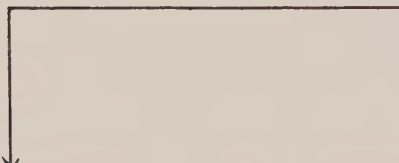
(See text)

14. Can you think of any changes which would encourage people to become Canadian citizens?

(See text)

INTERVIEWER: GO TO Q. 18

15. While you have been going through this routine have you found it ...

	[... very difficult . . . . .	1	20.8%
	[... somewhat difficult . . . . .	2	12.5%
	... not difficult (GO TO Q. 18). . . . .	3	66.7%
			(N = 24)

16. Could you describe the difficulties?

(See text)

17. Will this difficulty discourage you from carrying on to obtain citizenship?

Yes. . . . .	1	25.0%
No . . . . .	2	75.0%
		(N = 8)

HAND RESPONDENT CARD A

18. This card has a ladder on it. The top of the ladder represents all the rights and duties of Canadian citizenship. As a landed immigrant in Canada how far do you feel you are from the very top of this ladder?

(CODE NUMBER OF RUNG THAT RESPONDENT INDICATES)

RETRIEVE SHOWCARD

(See text)

19. Would you prefer to be known as a (nationality) citizen living in Canada, a landed immigrant, or a Canadian citizen?

Original citizenship . . . . .	1	24.7%
Landed immigrant . . . . .	2	12.8%
Canadian citizen . . . . .	3	55.2%
Other (specify) _____ . .	—	4.5%
D.K. . . . .	8	2.8%

**ASK EVERYONE:**

20. I am going to read a list of activities. In general do you think that being a landed immigrant has many disadvantages, some disadvantages or no disadvantages over a Canadian citizen ...

	<u>Many</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>D.K.</u>	
a) ... in getting a job . . . . .	16.0%	40.4%	40.7%	3.0%	—
b) ... in finding housing . . . . .	5.3%	20.5%	71.0%	3.3%	—
c) ... in getting welfare . . . . .	7.6%	18.6%	45.7%	28.2%	—
d) ... in getting a bank loan . . . . .	11.3%	21.0%	50.2%	17.5%	—
e) ... in dealing with civil servants . . .	14.3%	25.8%	46.4%	13.6%	—
f) ... in political affairs . . . . .	19.7%	30.7%	28.6%	21.0%	—
g) ... in getting medical care . . . . .	3.1%	9.9%	82.6%	4.3%	—

21. You have lived in Canada for some time now, how possible do you think it is that you may return to (country) to live and work ...

... very possible. . . . .	1	2.2%
... somewhat possible. . . . .	2	11.3%
... not possible . . . . .	3	83.2%
D.K. . . . .	8	3.3%

22. Before coming to Canada from (country) was there any other country you wanted to immigrate into?

No . . . . . 1 85.1%

Yes (specify) (See text) . . . . . 14.9%

23. Would you prefer to have a (nationality) passport or a Canadian passport, or some other passport?

(Nationality) Passport . . . . . 1 14.1%

Canadian Passport. . . . . 2 79.2%

Other (specify) (See text) . . . . . 6.7%

24. How long do you think it would take the average person to get Canadian citizenship from the time of their first application?

Record in months         (Mode = 3

D.K. . . . . 9 8 months)

25. Are you presently single, married, separated, divorced or are you widowed?

Single (GO TO Q. 31) . . . . . 1 13.4%

Married. . . . . 2 78.7%

Separated. . . . . 3 1.7%

Divorced . . . . . 4 0.8%

Widowed. . . . . 5 5.4%

26. Of what country is (was) your spouse a citizen?

Canada (GO TO Q. 27) . . . . . 01 42.1%

England. . . . . 02 3.3%

Northern Ireland . . . . . 03 0.8%

Scotland . . . . . 04 2.6%

Wales. . . . . 05 10.0%

Italy. . . . . 06 14.1%

Greece . . . . . 07 8.4%

Portugal . . . . . 08 14.0%

Other (specify)                      . . . . . 1.5%

(N = 558)

GO TO Q. 31

27. Was your spouse born in Canada?

Yes ( <i>GO TO Q. 31</i> ) . . . . .	1	27.4%
No. . . . .	2	72.6%

(N = 271)

28. In what year did your spouse take out Canadian citizenship? 1 9 \_\_ \_\_ (See text)

29. What year did your spouse immigrate to Canada? 1 9 \_\_ \_\_ (See text)

30. How old was your spouse when he(she) came to Canada? \_\_ \_\_ (See text)

ASK EVERYONE
--------------

31. How interested would you say you are in provincial or national political affairs? Would you say you are ...

... very interested . . . . .	1	21.1%
... somewhat. . . . .	2	24.2%
... slightly. . . . .	3	22.2%
... not at all. . . . .	4	31.2%
D.K. . . . .	8	1.2%

32. In general, how often would you say you discuss provincial or national political affairs with others? Would you say ...

... often . . . . .	1	18.5%
... sometimes . . . . .	2	32.5%
... rarely. . . . .	3	20.0%
... never . . . . .	4	27.8%
D.K. . . . .	8	1.2%

33. During elections some people find they have difficulty going to the polls to vote.

(ACCEPT RESPONSES AS GIVEN)

	<u>Voted</u>	<u>Did Not Vote</u>	<u>Ineligible</u>	<u>D.K.</u>
a) Did you vote in the last 1974 city election?	46.1%	18.5%	34.5%	0.9%
b) Did you vote in the last 1975 provincial election?	49.2%	17.2%	33.4%	0.2%
c) Did you vote in the 1974 federal election?	46.6%	17.2%	35.9%	0.3%

34. During elections do you discuss with relatives or friends the political parties and candidates ...

... frequently . . . . .	1	21.0%
... sometimes. . . . .	2	30.1%
... rarely . . . . .	3	22.0%
... never. . . . .	4	26.9%

35. Have you ever campaigned for a party or an individual candidate during elections?

Yes. . . . .	1	7.5%
No . . . . .	2	92.5%

36. Are you a member of any political group or party such as the Conservative, Liberal or N.D.P. or other political action group?

Yes. . . . .	1	6.7%
No . . . . .	2	93.3%

37. How interested in political affairs would you say the (nationality-Canadians) are today? Are they ...

... extremely interested . . . . .	1	25.3%
... somewhat interested. . . . .	2	45.5%
... not very interested. . . . .	3	17.1%
D.K. . . . .	8	12.1%



38. How many of your local neighbours do you know? Would you say ...

... nearly all . . . . .	1	29.5%
... some of them . . . . .	2	35.2%
... a few of them. . . . .	3	30.4%
... none at all. . . . .	4	4.8%

39. Of the people living in the neighbourhood, would you say they are mostly (group), or mostly English-Canadian, or mostly some other group?

Mostly (group) . . . . .	1	36.0%
Mostly English-Canadian. . . . .	2	14.0%
Mostly Other (specify) _____ . . . . .	3	0.2%
Mixed. . . . .	4	47.8%
D.K. . . . .	8	2.0%

40. How many of your close relatives live in Toronto? Would you say ...

... most of them . . . . .	1	43.8%
... some of them . . . . .	2	42.2%
... none of them . . . . .	3	14.0%

INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT IS FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM, GO TO Q. 61

(Section up to Question 60 inclusive has N = 462)

41. Do you read any (group) newspapers or magazines written in (language)?

No (GO TO Q. 42) . . . . . 1 27.5%

Yes



How often do you read (group) newspapers and magazines? Would you say ...

... regularly. . . . . 2 25.8%

... sometimes. . . . . 3 36.1%

... rarely or never. . . . . 4 10.6%

D.K. . . . . 8 0.0%

42. Do you listen to local (group) radio or television programmes?

No (GO TO Q. 43) . . . . . 1 10.0%

Yes



How often do you listen to (group) radio or television programmes? Would you say ...

... regularly. . . . . 2 39.6%

... sometimes. . . . . 3 41.8%

... rarely or never. . . . . 4 8.7%

D.K. . . . . 8 0.0%

43. In Toronto, how well do you think people in the (group) community work together to try to solve local problems ...

... very well. . . . . 1 33.5%

... fairly well. . . . . 2 37.0%

... not very well. . . . . 3 13.6%

Never work together. . . . . 4 1.5%

D.K. . . . . 8 14.3%

44. Have you ever worked with others to organize a group or project to solve some local (group) community problem?

Yes. . . . . 1 15.4%

No . . . . . 2 84.6%

45. How many of your good friends would you say are part of the (group) community ...

... almost all . . . . .	1	50.4%
... nearly half. . . . .	2	26.9%
... very few . . . . .	3	22.5%
D.K. . . . .	8	0.1%

46. How often do you use the (group) community businesses ...

... very frequently. . . . .	1	21.6%
... quite frequently . . . . .	2	31.6%
... not too frequently . . . . .	3	41.1%
... never. . . . .	4	5.6%

HAND RESPONDENT CARD A

47. Suppose the top of the ladder on this card represents the activities that go on in the (group) community in Toronto. How close to the top of this community ladder do you feel?

(CODE NUMBER OF RUNG THAT RESPONDENT INDICATES)

(See text)

RETRIEVE SHOWCARD

48. Do you feel that you are moving closer to the (group) community in Toronto or away from it?

Moving closer to . . . . .	1	18.7%
Moving away from . . . . .	2	27.2%
Stay the same (GO TO Q. 50) . . . . .	3	51.9%
D.K. . . . .	8	2.2%

49. Why do you say that?

(See text)

50. Thinking of the (group) community as a whole, do you think it is better that community members keep their (nationality) citizenship or should they become naturalized Canadian citizens?

Keep (nationality) citizenship . . . . .	1	6.7%
Become naturalized Canadians . . . . .	2	66.8%
No preference. . . . .	3	18.0%
D.K. . . . .	8	8.5%

51. We would like you to tell us how you think various kinds of leaders in the (group) community in Toronto feel about citizenship. Do you think they encourage people to take out Canadian citizenship or do they prefer community members to remain landed immigrants?

	<u>Encourage</u> <u>Canadian</u> <u>citizenship</u>	<u>Remain</u> <u>Landed</u>	<u>D.K.</u>	
a) ... how about the religious leaders?	39.7%	12.0%	48.4%	—
b) ... how about the community political leaders?	49.7%	6.8%	43.6%	—
c) ... how about the leading businessmen?	42.4%	12.0%	45.7%	—
d) ... how about the (group) organization leaders?	37.4%	11.7%	50.9%	—
e) ... how about the (group) professionals?	43.4%	7.8%	48.8%	—
f) ... how about the (group) press, radio and T.V.?	53.0%	8.0%	39.0%	—

52. Are you a member of any (group) community organizations such as service groups or social clubs?

Yes. . . . .	1	21.9%
No . . . . .	2	78.1%

53. Do you think there are too many (group) community organizations in Toronto, just enough or too few?

Too many . . . . .	1	12.6%
Just enough. . . . .	2	52.4%
Too few. . . . .	3	15.8%
D.K. . . . .	8	19.3%

54. How well do the various organizations in the (group) community seem to work together ...

... very well. . . . .	1	25.5%
... fairly well. . . . .	2	41.1%
... not very well. . . . .	3	13.0%
... not well at all. . . . .	4	2.8%
D.K. . . . .	8	17.5%

55. The Canadian government has certain individuals who work in the community to encourage landed immigrants to take out citizenship. Do you know of such people working in the (group) community?

Yes. . . . .	1	14.1%
No (GO TO Q. 57) . . . . .	2	85.9%

56. Do you know about them because of your contact with community organizations or some other way?

Organizational contact . . . . .	1	26.6%
Other ways (specify) _____ . . . . .		73.4%
(See text)		(N = 65)

## HAND RESPONDENT CARD B

57. I am going to read you a series of statements. In general do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each of these statements.

	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	<u>D.K.</u>	<i>Percentage (D.K. = remainder)</i>	
	1	2	3	4	8	A.	D.
a) Local community leaders have a lot of influence on community members.						45.5%	23.8%
b) (group) community organizations are trying to get more political influence.						45.7%	20.2%
c) Some community leaders encourage Canadian citizenship to get more votes for certain political candidates.						54.8%	19.7%
d) (group) community leaders do not have enough political connections.						32.5%	22.7%
e) If more (group) community members became Canadian citizens we would get more attention from politicians.						67.7%	11.9%

58. What language did you first learn in childhood and still understand?

Italian . . . . .	1	39.0%
Portuguese. . . . .	2	32.9%
Greek . . . . .	3	28.1%
English (GO TO Q. 61) . . . . .	4	0.0%
Other (specify) _____ . .	—	0.0%

59. How often do you speak in (language)? Would you say ...

... almost always . . . . .	1	56.9%
... often/not always. . . . .	2	33.3%
... occasionally. . . . .	3	8.9%
... rarely. . . . .	4	0.9%
... never . . . . .	5	0.0%



60. Would you say that in your everyday activities you use English ...

... almost always . . . . .	1	43.1%
... often/not always. . . . .	2	29.9%
... occasionally. . . . .	3	17.1%
... rarely. . . . .	4	7.8%
... never . . . . .	5	2.2%

ASK EVERYONE
--------------

61. Have you or has anyone in your family ever sponsored  
either family or friends in becoming landed immigrants?

Yes . . . . .	1	43.8%
No. . . . .	2	56.2%

62. Have you or has anyone in your family ever helped someone in  
taking out Canadian citizenship?

Yes . . . . .	1	28.0%
No. . . . .	2	72.0%

63. How many years of full time schooling have you completed?

— — Years (See text)

64. What was the highest level of education that you completed?

Did not complete grade school . . . . .	1	18.3%
Completed grade school. . . . .	2	30.4%
Did not complete high school. . . . .	3	27.9%
Completed high school . . . . .	4	15.6%
Did not complete college/trade school or university. . . . .	5	3.7%
Completed college/trade/or university . . .	6	3.3%
Postgraduate work . . . . .	7	0.8%

INTERVIEWER: IF SINGLE, GO TO Q. 67

65. How many years of full time schooling has your spouse completed? — —

— — Years (See text)

66. What was the highest level of schooling that your spouse completed?

Did not complete grade school . . . . .	1	22.7%
Completed grade school. . . . .	2	36.7%
Did not complete high school. . . . .	3	21.9%
Completed high school . . . . .	4	13.4%
Did not complete college/trade school or university. . . . .	5	1.7%
Completed college/trade/or university . . .	6	3.2%
Postgraduate work . . . . .	7	0.4%

(N = 529)

ASK EVERYONE

67. When you lived in (country) before coming to Canada, how would you describe where you lived? Was it in a ...

... rural area or farm. . . . .	1	5.6%
... village . . . . .	2	26.4%
... small town. . . . .	3	30.9%
... small city. . . . .	4	13.5%
... larger city . . . . .	5	20.5%
... suburb of a city. . . . .	6	2.8%
D.K. . . . .	8	0.3%

68. Since you arrived in Canada, have you always lived in Toronto?

Yes . . . . .	1	86.0%
No. . . . .	2	14.0%

69. What is your present religious preference or affiliation?

None (GO TO Q. 71). . . . .	1	2.3%
Protestant. . . . .	2	22.4%
Roman Catholic. . . . .	3	54.1%
Greek Orthodox. . . . .	4	19.6%
Other (specify) _____ . .	—	1.6%

70. How often do you attend a local community church (or synagogue or temple) or other place of worship? Would you say ...

... more than once a week . . . . .	1	3.2%
... once a week . . . . .	2	35.0%
... once a month. . . . .	3	23.7%
... once or twice a year. . . . .	4	27.2%
... never . . . . .	5	10.8%

71. Are you employed full or part time or something else?

Full time job (GO TO Q. 72) . . . . .	1	61.2%
Part time job (GO TO Q. 72) . . . . .	2	5.0%
Looking for work. . . . .	3	1.7%
Laid off. . . . .	4	1.9%
Student . . . . .	5	1.2%
Not looking . . . . .	6	0.0%
Housewife . . . . .	7	19.1%
Retired or Disabled . . . . .	8	9.9%

GO TO Q. 76 ←

72. (a) What kind of work do you usually do? (Specify exactly, e.g. selling shoes, metal machining, etc.)

(See text)

- (b) In what kind of business activity, industry or service is this job? (Specify, e.g. retail shoe store, machine parts manufacturing, etc.)

(See text)

73. What was the last job you had in (country) just before migrating to Canada? (record full job description and industry)

(See text)

74. What kind of work did you do after first arriving in Canada? (record full job description and industry)

(See text)

75. Would you say that occupationally, that is just in terms of the work done, are you better off, worse off, or about the same as in (country)?

Better off . . . . .	1	61.2%
Worse off. . . . .	2	1.5%
About the same . . . . .	3	7.5%
Never previously worked. . . . .	4	29.8%
D.K. . . . .	8	2.0%

IF RESPONDENT IS HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD, GO TO Q. 78

IF RESPONDENT IS NOT HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD, CHECK HERE ☐ AND ASK:

76. What about the head of household, is he(she) employed full or part time or something else?

Full time job (GO TO Q. 77) . . . . .	1	80.8%
Part time job (GO TO Q. 77) . . . . .	2	0.9%
Looking for work. . . . .	3	0.9%
Laid off. . . . .	4	1.4%
Student . . . . .	5	0.0%
Not looking . . . . .	6	0.0%
Housewife . . . . .	7	3.4%
Retired or Disabled . . . . .	8	12.5%

GO TO Q. 78 ←

77. (a) What kind of work does he(she) do?

(See text)

(b) In what kind of business activity, industry or service is this job?

(See text)

78. HAND RESPONDENT CARD C

Would you please look at this card and tell me which figure comes closest to your total family income for the past year - before taxes and deductions. Just tell me the letter next to the figures that fit it best.

D.K. or Refused. . . . .	00	9.4%
A) Less than \$6,000 . . . . .	01	11.6%
B) \$6,000 to \$7,999 . . . . .	02	8.1%
C) \$8,000 to \$9,999 . . . . .	03	10.1%
D) \$10,000 to \$11,999 . . . . .	04	11.8%
E) \$12,000 to \$13,999 . . . . .	05	11.5%
F) \$14,000 to \$15,999 . . . . .	06	11.3%
G) \$16,000 to \$17,999 . . . . .	07	8.2%
H) \$18,000 to \$19,999 . . . . .	08	7.5%
I) \$20,000 to \$24,999 . . . . .	09	5.9%
J) \$25,000 to \$29,999 . . . . .	10	2.8%
K) Over \$30,000 . . . . .	11	1.9%

79. Since coming to Canada have you or your family ever had to deal with government offices or civil servants in any of the following ways? Please answer yes or no.

C. 4

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>D.K.</u>
a) ... getting a job through Manpower . . . . .	34.9%	64.8%	0.3%
b) ... collecting Unemployment Insurance. . . . .	63.5%	36.3%	0.2%
c) ... collecting Workmens Compensation . . . . .	38.4%	61.0%	0.6%
d) ... obtaining Welfare or relief. . . . .	8.4%	91.1%	0.5%
e) ... collecting Medical or hospital payments. . . . .	26.1%	72.4%	1.6%
f) ... obtaining Daycare support. . . . .	1.1%	97.5%	1.4%
g) ... obtaining other social assistance. . . . .	3.4%	95.7%	0.9%

And now a few last questions.

80. HAND RESPONDENT CARD B

Tell me if you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements.

Percentage  
(D.K. =  
remainder)

	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	<u>D.K.</u>	A.	D.
	1	2	3	4	8		
a) ... it is difficult for (nationality) to renounce their citizenship.						37.6%	56.7%
b) ... taking out Canadian citizenship might prevent a (nationality) from returning to (country) to live and work						16.5%	67.2%
c) ... the most important part of Canadian citizenship is that you are allowed to vote in all elections.						69.3%	25.4%
d) ... recent immigrants get less attention from officials than do Canadian citizens.						32.4%	45.5%
e) ... obtaining Canadian citizenship should be more difficult than it is at present.						21.7%	69.4%

Thank you for your cooperation!

INTERVIEWERS ASSESSMENT

81. Can this respondent converse in English easily, with some difficulty, or with great difficulty.

No difficulty . . . . .	1	55.5%
Some difficulty . . . . .	2	26.5%
Great difficulty. . . . .	3	18.0%



## Bibliography

- Almond, G.A. and Verba, S. The Civic Culture. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1963.
- Anderson, G. Networks of Contact: The Portuguese and Toronto. Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Waterloo, 1974.
- Breton R., Armstrong J. and Kennedy L. The Social Impact of Changes in Population Size and Composition, Information Canada, Ottawa, 1974.
- Department of the Secretary of State Attitude of New Canadians Toward Citizenship. A report for Citizenship Registration Branch, 1971.
- Glazer, N. and Moynihan, D.P. Beyond the Melting Pot: the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, 1963.
- Gordon, M. Assimilation in American Life: The role of race, religion and national origins, Oxford University Press, New York, 1964.
- Gouldner, A.W. Red Tape as a Social Problem, in R.K. Merton et al. Reader in Bureaucracy, The Free Press, Glencoe, 1952.
- Granovetter, M. Getting a Job, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1974.
- Hartman, M. "On the Definition of Status Inconsistency". American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 80 (1974), 706-721.
- Hawkins, F. Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 1972.
- Homans, G. Social Behavior; its elementary forms. Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, New York, 1961.
- Hughes, E.C. "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status". American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 50 (1945), 353-359.
- Kalbach, W. The Impact of Immigration on Canada's Population. Information Canada, Ottawa, 1970.
- Katz, E. and Lazarsfeld, P.F. Personal Influence. The Free Press, Glencoe, 1955.
- Kish, L. "Confidence Intervals for Clustered Samples". American Sociological Review, Vol. 22 (1957), 154-165.

- Kish, L. Survey Sampling. Wiley Press, New York, 1965.
- Lenski, G. "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status". American Sociological Review, Vol. 19 (1954), 405-413.
- Lenski, G. "Social Participation and Status Crystallization". American Sociological Review, Vol. 21 (1956), 458-464.
- Linton, R. The Study of Man, an introduction. Appleton-Century, New York, 1936.
- Lipset, S.M. Political Man; the social bases of politics. Doubleday, New York, 1960.
- Lipset, S.M. The First New Nation; the United States in historical and comparative perspective. Basic Books, New York, 1963.
- Malewski, A. "The Degree of Status Incongruence and its Effects". The Polish Sociological Bulletin, Vol. 1 (1963).
- Mannheim, K. Ideology and Utopia. Harcourt, Brace and World, New York, 1963.
- Marshall, T.H. Class, Citizenship and Social Development. Doubleday, New York, 1964.
- Merton, R.K. Social Theory and Social Structure. The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1957.
- Newman, W. American Pluralism: A Study of Minority Groups and Social Theory. Harper and Row, New York, 1973.
- Novack, M. The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics. The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1972.
- O'Bryan, K.G., Reitz, J.G. and Kuplowska, O.M. Non-Official Languages: A Study in Canadian Multiculturalism. The Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1976.
- Parai, L. "Canada's Immigration Policy 1962-74". International Migration Review, Vol. 9 (1975), #4.
- Parry, C. Nationality and Citizenship Laws of the Commonwealth. Stevens Press, London, 1960.
- Parsons, T. "Full citizenship for the Negro American? a sociological problem". Daedalus, Vol. 94 (1965), #4, 1009-1054.
- Pranger, R.J. The Eclipse of Citizenship. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1968.

- Richmond, A.H. Post-War Immigrants in Canada. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1967.
- Richmond, A.H. Aspects of the Absorption and Adaptation of Immigrants, Information Canada, Ottawa, 1974.
- Roseneau, J.N. Citizenship Between Elections. The Free Press, New York, 1974.
- Schindeler, F. Perceptions of Federal-Provincial Relations in Ontario. Paper presented at C.P.S.A. meetings in Montreal, June 1972.
- Simmel, G. Conflict and The Web of Group Affiliation, translated by R. Bendix and K. Wolff, The Free Press, Glencoe, 1955.
- Simmel, G. The Sociology of George Simmel, translated and edited by Kurt H. Wolff. The Free Press, Glencoe, 1950.
- Thompson, D.F. The Democratic Citizen: Social Science and Democratic Theory in the Twentieth Century. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1970.
- Weber, M. From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, edited by C.W. Mills and H. Gerth. Oxford University Press, New York, 1946.
- Wilson, R.R. and Clute, R.E. "Commonwealth citizenship and common status." American Journal of International Law, Vol. 57 (1963), 566-587.







